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HISTORY OF TIRHUT

From the Earliest Times
to
The End of the Nineteenth Century.

BY

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WITH A FOREWORD

BY

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FOREWORD

I have been requested to write a Foreword to Mr. Shyam Narayan Singh's History of Tirhut and I do so with confidence that I was instrumental in bringing it to the notice of so distinguished an authority as Professor Sylvain Lévi, and it is on his encouragement that the book is published. He would indeed himself have written the introduction had he not been called away to Nepal on urgent business. It is with sincere pleasure that I introduce to the public a work on Bihar history by a Biharī, which has earned the commendation of so distinguished a scholar.

H. LEMESURIER,

President

Bihar and Orissa Research Society

RANCHI,

May 26th 1924

PREFACE

It is an admitted fact that owing chiefly to the lack of an adequate account of the subject, few possess any connected information about the history of Tirhut* without which the civilization of India as a whole cannot be fully appreciated. For not only does it possess much intrinsic merit in itself but the light it sheds on the life and thought of Indian population has a peculiar interest for every student of Indian history. It is rather strange that up to this time no history of Tirhut as a whole has been written in any language and any attempt, however inadequate, to make up the deficiency may perhaps be welcome. It is in this belief that I have ventured to offer this book to the public. I have not tried to treat the topics in a full and comprehensive manner, but have contented myself with noting down only those facts, the knowledge of which, I hope, may be of some use to the country. As regards chronological data and statements of facts, I lay no claim to original research, and must express full acknowledgment for the use of the works of my predecessors in the field. But the treatment of the subject and interpretation of facts are mostly my own, and sometimes differ materially from those of other writers. I have avoided as far as possible entering into controversies on points of purely literary interest, though it has been sometimes necessary to take a definite stand-point when important historical issues are at stake.

The system of transliteration here followed is that

* Vāmana in his *Lingānuśāsana* (cf. page 18, Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 41, Baroda Edition, 1918) has mentioned तौरभुक्ति (वरैन्द्रा. तौरभुक्ति नामदेशः) and as Vāmana lived in the 8th century A. D., it is clear that the name Tirabhukti or Tirhut was known in the 8th century A. D.

which has been adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and adopted also elsewhere owing to the difficulty of reproducing Sanskrit words on account of the inadequacy of the Roman alphabet which necessitates the use of diacritical marks. The letter Ś in Sanskrit is the equivalent of Sh in 'Shun'; ṣ is somewhat thinner in pronunciation, like the ss in 'session'; ṁ resembles the n in the French word 'bon'; ḥ the German ch in 'ach' and ñ the French gn in 'montagne.' The palatal c is to be sounded like the initial ch in church-ill; ch has an aspirate sound like that of the ch in the middle of the same word; ph and th are also aspirates as the English 'up-hill' and 'ant-hill' respectively. The vowels when unmarked (except e and o, which are always long) are short and when they have a horizontal strike above them, are long; thus (i) is sounded as in 'pin,' i like ee in 'seen.' The vowel ṛ is to be pronounced like ri in risk.

The table below may be helpful in rightly pronouncing Sanskrit letters in the text:—

ā	आ	ñ	ञ	ṣ	ष
i	ई	ṭ	ट	kṣ	क्ष
ū	ऊ	ṭh	ठ	gñ	ज्ञ
ṛ	ऋ	ḍ	ड	ṁ	(अनुस्वार)
ṝ	ॠ	ḍh	ड्ह	m̄	(अनुनासिक)
ṝ	ॡ	ṇ	ण	ḥ	ः (विसर्ग)
c	च	s	स		
ch	छ	ś	श		

There have however been some deviations in print from this system which, I regret extremely, cannot be set right at this stage. The book, moreover, written hurriedly in the intervals of a busy work, is likely to contain errors of style and statement.

The subject which I have treated is extensive and has

involved a certain amount of exploration in unfamiliar byepaths of ancient literature. As the work is beset with difficulties, it would be sheer presumption on my part to hope that my book presents a complete statement of facts relating to every item of discussion but I shall feel highly rewarded for my labours if it proves of some assistance to others devoted to the same cause. For instance, there has recently been some interesting discussion¹ regarding the origin and caste of the Licchavis of Baisali, a subject which I have dealt with in Chapter I, Part II of this volume; and there are now sufficient materials for a separate essay on the Licchavis. In fact Professor Sylvain Levi, the greatest living orientalist, has been strenuously making researches and has obtained materials which will throw splendid light on this subject. But so far as I am concerned, it would be unfair in every sense to omit to mention some of the materials which have prominently attracted attention since this book was sent to Press. Thus a Licchavi has been taken as an issue of a Vratya father and a Kshatriya mother.² This view is also supported by the Lexicographers Amar Simha, Halayudha and Hem Chandra.³ On the other hand, Bohtlingk and Roth as well as Monier Williams call them a regal race.⁴ It is narrated that Licchavis once asked Maudagalāyana out of veneration whether it was possible for them to subdue Ajatasatru, king of Magadh, and were told in reply "men of Vashista's race, you will conquer."⁵ As men of Vashista's race were Kshatriyas, it may be taken that Licchavis were also Kshatriyas. It is also known that Mahabir, the Jain

¹ Cf. J.A.S.B., XVII, 1921, No. 3, pp. 265-271.

² Cf. The Vajrayanti (Oppert), pp. 76, L. 108.

³ Also Cf. Nalopakhyaṇa (Bohtlingk, Christhomathie) I. 820, II. 80; also Lalitavistara, 137-424; also Avidhānadīpikā, Colombo, 1865.

⁴ Cf. A Sanskrit English Dictionary by Monier Williams, 1899.

⁵ Cf. The life of the Buddha, Rockhill, footnote, p. 97.

leader, who has admittedly been taken as a Kshatriya, was related to Liçchavis.¹ There is another very amusing story about the origin of the Licchavis. It was said that the chief queen of Benares gave birth to a "lump of flesh." But being dissatisfied with herself, she placed it in a pot and threw it into the Ganges. It is related that a hermit found the pot and kept it with him and from this lump of flesh children were born who were afterwards known as Licchavis.² This cock and bull story gives some colour to the account regarding their mixed origin and it is likely that their descent had something to do with the Scythians.³ It is possible that they were a lean and thin class of people as the word "Licchavi" has been interpreted as made up of Lina (thin) and Chabi⁴ (figure or skin). That they were once a most affluent race is shown by the description of various festivities amongst them in which all classes of their people participated⁵ as well as by their fondness for gaiety.⁶ It is said that king Bimbisara of Magadha, though not on good terms with the Licchavis, went to Baisali to meet an exceedingly beautiful courtesan Amrapāli from whom was born to him a son named Abhaya who thus became a foster brother of Ajatashatru, king of Magadh.⁷ A custom which is still found (in Mithla) in existence to some extent to-day was known among the Licchavis, i.e. a Licchavigana could select a suitable wife for a Licchavi when asked for and this Licchavigana used also to dispose of charges of adultery and confined marriages to Baisali or

¹ Cf. Kalpa Sutra (Jacobi) verse 128, p. 266, S.R.E., Vol. XXII.

² Cf. Paramattha Jotika on Khuddaka Patha (P.T.S.), pp. 158-165.

³ Cf. Ind. Anty. Vol. XXXII, pp. 233-236.

⁴ Cf. Watters' Yuan-chu-wang Vol. II, page 77 as well as Khuddakapatha (P.T.S.), pp. 158-165.

⁵ Cf. Samyuttanikaya (P.T.S.) Paramattha Jotika Vol. I, p. 201.

⁶ Cf. Dhammapadatthakatha (P.T.S.) Vol. III, p. 279-280 and p. 460.

⁷ Cf. The life of the Buddha by Rockhill, p. 64.

rather even to particular parts of it.¹ It also appears that one of the main causes of dissention between the Licchavis of Tirhut and Ajatasatru of Magadha was that the Licchavis did not divide equally with him some precious gems washed away by the Ganges from a mine at the foot of a hill not very far away from the Ganges and at last Ajatsatru succeeded in putting them down by sowing dissensions amongst them.² But it is not possible yet to locate any such spot in Tirhut.

In conclusion, I must acknowledge my indebtedness to those who made it a pleasure for me to undertake the present work. My grateful thanks are due to Dr. Hari Chand Shastri for constant advice and encouragement in regard to the Sanskrit portion of this work which owes so much to him. I have also received cordial assistance and suggestions from Dr. Sir George Grierson, retired I.C.S., Sir Askrutośh Mukharji of Calcutta, Revd. Anagarika Dhārapal, Mr. L. F. Morshead, I.C.S., Mr. H. T. S. Forrest, I.C.S., Mahāmahopādhyāya Pundit Har Prashad Shastri, C.I.E. of Calcutta, Mahāmahopādhyāya Pundit Parmeshwar Jha of Darbhanga, Mr. Kuruvila Zachariah of the Presidency College, Calcutta, Mr. R. P. Khosla of the Greer B. B. College, Muzaffarpur, Mr. Raghunandan Sinha Sharma of Silout, Colonel Bindeshwari Prashad Singh of Benares and Mr. J. M. Wilson of Muzaffarpur to whom I take this opportunity to express my gratitude. I am greatly indebted to Maharajadhiraj Sir Ramēshwar Singh of Darbhanga, whose enlightened courtesy made it easy for me to borrow a large number of valuable books from his magnificent library. I have also to thank Mr. E. L. L. Hammond, C.B.E., I.C.S., for revising the manuscript.

¹ Cf. (i) Bhikkhunivibhanga Sanghadidesa Vol. II, page 225.

(ii) The life of the Buddha by Rockhill, p. 62.

² Sumangalavilasini (Burmese Edition; Simon Hewavitarne Bequest series, No. I, Revised by Nanissara), p. 99.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS BOOK.

A.S.R.	..	Archæological Survey Report
A.S.A.R.	.	Archæological Survey Annual Report.
A.S.B. Review		" Asiatic Society of Bengal " Review
Arch. Surv. Ind	..	Archæological Survey of India.
A.S.B.	.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
I.O. MSS	..	India Office Manuscripts
As. Soc. MS. I.B.		Asiatic Society Manuscripts. Indian Branch.
Br. Mus. Cat.	.	British Museum Catalogue.
Chap.	.	Chapter.
Cir. or Circa	.	Year or period.
C.A.S.R.	..	Cunningham's Archæological Survey Report.
Cat	..	Catalogue.
E.I.	.	Epigraphia Indica.
Emp. India	.	" The Empire of India " Series.
Fig.	.	Figure.
Ind. Ant.	.	Indian Antiquary.
Intr. or Introd	.	Introduction.
Ind. Meus.	.	Indian Museum
I.G. MS.	..	" India Govt." Manuscripts.
Ind. Off. Cat.	.	" India Office " Catalogue.
Imp. Gaze.		Imperial Gazetteer (2nd Edition).
J.A.S.	.	Journal of the Asiatic Society.
J.A.S.B.		Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal.
J.B.A.S.	.	Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society.
MSS.	..	Manuscripts.
Nep.	..	Nepal.
Nir. Sag. Press		Nirnaya Sagar Press. Bombay.
R.A.S.B.	..	Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Rep.	..	Report.
S.B.E.	..	" The Sacred books of the East " Series.

HISTORY OF TIRHUT IN THE VEDIC PERIOD DOWN TO THE 6TH CENTURY B.C.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

THE BOUNDARIES OF MITHILĀ AND THE ORIGIN OF THE TERM MITHILĀ OR TIRHUT.

Tirhut is one of the most ancient landmarks in Indian history. It has a glorious past which any civilised nation and country may be justly proud. The ancient Tirhutians and their kings were as renowned for their love of learning as they were feared for their prowess in arms. They were as rich in their material possessions as in their mental and spiritual endowments. Their sense of justice was proverbial among the inhabitants of all the regions to which they extended their sway. Their name to-day stands for culture and wealth just as it did some 3,000 years ago. And an investigation in regard to Tirhut and its people, apart from recalling the ancient greatness of Tirhut, will also, it is hoped, be instructive and illuminating from a general historical point of view.

The boundaries of ancient Mithilā are defined neither in the Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa nor in the Purāṇas (such as Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Vāyu, Skanda). It appears, however, from the Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa, Viṣṇu and Mārkaṇḍeya and other Purāṇas that there were two kingdoms to the north of the Ganges, viz. those of Vaiśālī and Mithilā. But the dividing line between them has not been indicated.¹ For all broad purposes, it appears, however, that both the

¹ The situation of these two kingdoms was not far removed from the conjunction of the river Ganges with the river Sone to the south, as (according to the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa) Rāma finished his journey between the Sone and the Ganges (before reaching Vaiśālī) within a day.

kingdoms came to be known under the general name of Tira-bhukti which is said to have had more extensive boundaries than modern Tirhut,¹ a name which is used as its equivalent. According to "Mithilā Khaṇḍa" which is reputed to be a part of the Brhad-Viṣṇupurāṇa,² it is bounded on the east by Kauśiki (modern Kośi), on the west by Sālagrāmi or Nārāyaṇi (modern Gaṇḍaka), on the south by the river Ganges and on the north by the Himālayan tracts. It is about 180 miles (96 kośa) long (east to west) and about 125 miles (64 kośa) broad (north to south), i.e.

¹ Sirān-Tirhut in the Mogal period of Indian history meant the area comprised in the modern districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. At present the term Tirhut means the revenue division comprising the modern districts of Saran, Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur and Champaran. The puranic definition of Tirabhukti would bring under this name the modern districts of Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Champaran, North Monghyr, North Bhagalpur and a portion of Purnea (to the west of the river Kośi) and a great tract of land to the north of these districts generally called Nepal Tarai.

² Cf. Brhad-Viṣṇupurāṇa, Mithilākhaṇḍa, the dialogue between Parāsara and Maitreya (the age of Brhad-Viṣṇupurāṇa has not yet been ascertained, but it is popularly put after the 5th century A.D.).

गङ्गाहिमवतीर्मध्ये नदीपञ्चदशान्तर ।
 तैरभुक्तिरिति ख्यातो देशः परमपावनः ॥
 कौशिकीन्नु समारभ्य गण्डकीमधिगम्य वै ।
 योजनानि चतुर्विंशत् व्यायामः परितोर्तिष्ठतः ॥
 गङ्गाप्रवाहमारभ्य यावज्जैमवतं वनम् ।
 विस्तारः षोडशः प्रोक्तो देशस्य कुलनन्दन ॥
 मिथिला नाम भगिरी नम्रास्ते लोकविश्रुता ।
 पञ्चभिः कारणैः पुण्या विख्याता जगतीचये ॥

निमिर्नाम मङ्गराज इत्याकौस्तुभयो नृपः । तेन तप्तं तपो धीरं तेन ख्यातं तपोवनम् ॥
 सुवर्णखनिरुत्पन्ना पूर्वेस्तिष्ठन् तपोवने । सुवर्णकाननं नाम तेन ख्यातं पथं मतम् ॥ देवराट् तपो
 भूमिः शिवतुष्टिकरो मता । यत्र प्राप्तधनुरत्नं तेन सा शान्भवौ वभौ ॥

रामस्वरूपा सा भूमिर्मिथिला वर्णिता पुरा । शिरोभागेन रामस्य हिमवत् खण्डमास्थितम् ।
 पादयोजार्द्धवी देवी गण्डकी दक्षिणे कुरे । वामे तु कौशिकी ज्ञेया माभौ च जनकालये । हृदये
 कमलादेवी जानकीवक्त्रभा सखी । एवं सर्वाणि तीर्थानि प्रत्यङ्गेषु स्थितानि हि । मायापूर्वादिकाः-
 प्रोक्ताः सामान्ये नैवमुक्तिदाः । एषा तु मिथिला राजन् विष्णुसायुज्यकारिणी । वैदेही तु स्वयं
 यस्यात् सहात् शम्भुविमोचिनी । आश्रितानामतस्तेषां भवेत्सो पूज्यमेव हि । सर्वे देवाः सगन्धर्वाः
 ब्रह्माविष्णुशिवश्च । वसन्ति मिथिलायां च मानारूपधराः शुभाः ॥

Also cf. the Śaktisatgam Tantra :—

गण्डकीतीरमारभ्य चम्पारण्यान्तकं शिवे विदेहभूः समाख्याता तौरभुक्तिमिथो भनुः ॥

Also cf. Rapson's "Ancient India," 1916, p. 171; also Dowson's "Hindu Classical Dictionary," Trubner's oriental series, p. 355; also Apte's "Sanskrit-English Dictionary," Bombay, 1890, page 1047.

HISTORY OF TIRHUT IN THE VEDIC PERIOD.

it comprises the modern districts of Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Champaran and parts of the districts of Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Purnea.

The famous poet of Tirhut, Paṇḍita Candā Jhā, describes the same boundaries in metrical form :—

गङ्गा वहति जगत् दक्षिणदिशि पूर्व कौशिकीधारा ।
पश्चिम वहति गंडकी, उत्तर हिमवत वन विस्तारा ॥
कमला त्रिशुला अमरता घेसुरा वागवती कृतसारा ।
मध्य वहति लक्ष्मणा प्रभृति से मिथिला विद्यागारा ॥

The name found in the ancient books, such as Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa, etc., is Mithilā and not Tirhut. The Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa (cir. 500 B.C.)¹ says that Mithilā was named after Mithi. The Bhāgawatapurāṇa (cir. 500 A.D.)², one of the most important of Indian records of tradition and mythology, explains how the country came to be known as Mithilā. The first mythical or traditional king of this part of the country was Mahārāja Nimi. He was doomed to die by the curse of his preceptor, Vasiṣṭha, who was a great Ṛṣi (i.e. sage) and who was enraged by Nimi employing another priest, Gotama, to officiate at a sacrifice without Vasiṣṭha's permission. After his death, all the great Ṛṣis of the time assembled and implored his spirit to re-assume human form. As he refused to do so, they bestowed on him a mystical blessing that he should live for ever in the human eye,³ and taking his dead body, they placed it in a churn in the hope they might thus produce a son in his likeness. They were successful and a son emerged from the churn and was named Mithi,⁴ who succeeded his father as a king. His country came to be known after him as Mithilā.

Nimi, whose death was due to a curse, was rightly called

¹ Cf. p. 309 of Macdonell's 'History of Sanskrit Literature,' London, 1917; for another view, pp. 141 and 42 of the 'Early History of the Dekkan,' by R. G. Bhandarkar, Bombay, 1895.

² Cf. Appendix A to V. A. Smith's 'Early History of India,' 1916, Oxford.

³ The Sanskrit word Nimeṣa (निमेष) means a wink. This story shows an attempt to explain its origin by connecting it with Nimi.

⁴ Sanskrit Lit., product of churning.

⁵ This obviously belongs to the well-known class of stories created in order to explain existing names. Cf. the Greek legend of Hellen and his sons.

Videha¹ and his successors have been known as Vaideha.² As Mithi was self-born, he and his successors came to be known as Janaka.³

There is much difference as to the derivation of Tirhut, the modern name of Mithilā. The most probable theory is that it is a corruption of Tira-bhukti, which in Sanskrit means those who live on river banks. This would truly describe the modern Tirhut with its many intersecting rivers.⁴ This is the derivation given by the Brhad-Viṣṇu-purāṇa, which mentions Tira-bhukti, as one of the 12 names of Mithilā.⁵ The word Tirhut occurs for the first time in

¹ Sanskrit Lit., one whose body is gone. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa and the Brhad Viṣṇupurāṇa say that he was doomed to death because he started a Yajña (sacrifice) without consulting his family priest Vasiṣṭha who was thus enraged into cursing him to die.

Cf. Also Brhad Viṣṇupurāṇa Mithilā Khaṇḍa.

गौतमो याज्ञवल्क्यश्च विद्यामित्रो भृगुस्तथा । वामदेवोऽशितं करावस्वागच्छत्यो भार्गवस्तथा । भारद्वाजोऽथ वाल्मीकिश्च तत्र समवस्थिताः । शरीरं मन्यन्मार्थाय सर्वं तत्र समागताः । दृष्ट्वा देह सकलं प्रक्षयं तत्र संयुतम् । दृष्ट्वा विष्णुपुराणे मिथिलाखण्डे पराशरमुनेनेयसम्नादे पुनर्निभः शरीरस्य मन्यन् मुनिभिः कृतम् । मिथिलश्च समुत्पन्नो मिथिला तेन सा भवति । तदा प्रभृति तद्वर्गैः राजधानी निरूपिता ॥

² Sanskrit name=born of Videha.

³ Sanskrit word=Self-born.

The significance of this legendary story is clear. It shows the hold of the priestly class over the Aryan kings. Gotama's priestly family (as we shall see later) came with Mithava from the Saraswati in the Punjab to Mithilā, but it appears that Vasiṣṭha's family had already established its influence in those parts, and resisted encroachments by other families. The Gotamas had, by the time of Vālmiki, become undisputed priests of the Mithilā Raj family (Janaka) as at the marriage of Rāma and Sītā, Gautama (Sadanand) appeared as priest of Mithilā ruling family (Janaka, father of Sītā) and Vasiṣṭha acted as priest of the king of Oudh (Dasaratha, father of Rama).

This tradition shows that the early Aryans in India were acquainted with the Egyptian process of embalming dead bodies.

⁴ The Brhad-Viṣṇupurāṇa, Mithilā Khaṇḍa mentions the principal rivers of Tirhut as

कौशिकी कमला चैव तथा निव्ववती मता । यमुना चेति विष्णुता भूयसी गैरिका तथा । जलाधिका दुग्धवती तथा व्याघ्रमती मता । विरजा मण्डना चैव तथैवेष्टामतीति च । लक्ष्मणा वाग्धती ख्याता गण्डकीति ततः परा । इति पूर्वक्रमानुक्तं नदीनामानि दर्शयन् ॥ त्रियुगा कमला चेति गण्डकी अधिवारिणी । धून्नाघोषवती चैव वनघोषा च लक्ष्मणा ॥ कौशिकीति नव प्रोक्ता सीतासख्यः प्रकीर्तिता । सखीरूपेण प्रीडयति जनकस्य गृहे सदा । अङ्गुली वर्चनी चैव अंघा जीवायिका तथा । इत्याद्या वदन् सन्नि नद्यो हिमवतोद्भवाः ।

⁵ Cf. the Brhad Viṣṇupurāṇa, Mithilā Khaṇḍa—

मिथिला, तैरभुक्तिश्च, वैदेही, नैमिकाननम् ।

ज्ञानशीलं हृषीकेशं, स्वर्णशालपञ्जतिः ।

Trkāṇḍa Śeṣa Koṣa (cir. 1200 A.D.)¹ of Puruṣottama Deva
“ तौरभुक्तिस्तु निष्कृतिः । ”

The Muhammadan writers of the 12th century have also used the same form.

Paṇḍita Gangānanda Jhā, a Maithila Sanskrit writer of the 17th century A.D., explains in his work Bhrṅgadūta² that Tira-bhukti is so called because it extends up to the Tira (bank) of the river Ganges.

It may be interesting to know that at the excavation at Basārha in the Muzaffarpur district (cir. 1903 A.D.)³ seals were discovered bearing the name Tira-bhukti and dating back to the 4th century A.D. Some of these seals are attached to letters, addressed to officers, described as being then in charge of Tira-bhukti. In some letters, however, the word ‘Tira’ occurs. This may show that there was probably a locality called ‘Tira’ from which probably the name Tira-bhukti or province of ‘Tira’ was derived. This interpretation follows that of Yayakabhukti (modern Bundelkhand).⁴ But it is also possible that ‘Tira’ was the name of a class of people after whom the country which they inhabited came to be called Tirabhukti, just as China-bhukti was known after its inhabitants the Chinas (Chinese).⁵

जानकीजन्मभूमिश्च, निरपेक्षा, विकल्पाया ।
रामानन्दकटी, विश्वभावनी, नित्यमङ्गला ॥
इति द्वादश नामानि मिथिलायाः ॥
सदा भूवनसम्पन्नो नदीतीरेषु संस्थितः ।
तीरेषु भुक्तियोगेन तैरभुक्तिरिति स्मृतः ॥

¹ As regards the age of Puruṣottamadeva, Duff assigns Puruṣottamadeva's ‘Trkāṇḍa Śeṣa Koṣa’ to the first quarter of the 12th century (page 147 of the Chronology of India by C. M. Duff, London, 1899, but Mr. Macdonell brings it down to 1300 A.D. (page 433 of Macdonell's History of Sanskrit Literature, 3rd edition, 1914, London, William Heinemann).

गङ्गा तीरावधिरधिगता यद्भवो ऋक् भुक्तिः ।
नाम्ना सैव त्रिभुवनं तले विभुता तौरभुक्तिः ॥
भूमिं भिक्षा समञ्जनि सन्तो वीरकेतोःपुत्रा ।
वक्षी यस्याममृतफलदा जानकीकैतवेन ॥

² Cf. ‘Report on Archaeological Survey of India,’ 1903-04, pp. 8 to 122.

³ Cf. Page 263 and 360 of V. A. Smith's ‘Early History of India,’ Oxford, 3rd edition.

⁴ Cf. page 263 of V. A. Smith's ‘Early History of India,’ Oxford, 3rd edition.

As a matter of fact, a class of fishermen found near riverbanks in Tirhut is called ‘Tivara.’

* Some modern writers have, however, explained Tirhut as a corruption of Trhutam, i.e. the country of three sacrifices :— (i) the sacrifice at the birth of Jānaki or Sitā who married Rāma (the hero of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa); (ii) Dhanuṣayajña or the sacrifice on the occasion when the great celestial bow was broken by Rāma; and (iii) the sacrifice in honour of the marriage of Rāma and Sitā.¹

CHAPTER II.

MITHILĀ IN THE VEDIC AND PAURANIC PERIODS.

The *Śatpatha Brāhmaṇa*, which is certainly much older than the 5th century² B.C.,³ contains reminiscences of the days when the country of Videha was not yet

Introduction of the
Brahmanical culture in
Tirhut.

¹ Cf. Bṛhad Viṣṇu Purāṇa Mithilā Khaṇḍa

माधवे धवले पक्षे नवम्यां यज्ञमारभत् । सुवर्णलाङ्गलमादाय विचकर्ष मञ्जीतले ॥ तत्र पुत्री
समुत्पन्ना तां तदा गृह्णमानयत् । जानकीं तेन वै नाम्ना विख्याता भुवनत्रये ॥ मार्गशीर्षे शीतिपक्षे
पञ्चम्यां च शुभे दिने ॥ सीता विवाहिता यज्ञ रामेण परमात्मना ॥

Janaka was cultivating his land with a golden plough under the advice of the sages, and on the occasion of a dire famine, when his plough struck upon a vessel containing a girl whom he took to his home and adopted as his daughter and who came to be known as Jānaki and Sitā.

² Cf. pp. 213-15 of Macdonell's 'History of Sanskrit Literature,' London, 1917

Also pp. 31 and 32 of the same work.

The main importance of the old Vedic hymns and formulas came to be considered to be their application to the innumerable details of the sacrifice. Around this combination of sacred verse and rite a new body of doctrines grew up in sacerdotal tradition, and finally assumed definite shape in the guise of distinct theological treatises entitled Brāhmaṇas, "books dealing with devotion or prayer." They evidently did not come into being till a time when the hymns were already deemed ancient and sacred revelations, the priestly custodians of which no longer fully understood their meaning owing to the change undergone by the language. They are written in prose throughout, and are in some cases accented, like the Vedas themselves. They are thus notable as representing the oldest prose writing of the Indo-European family.

The chief purpose of the Brāhmaṇas is to explain the mutual relation of the sacred text and the ceremonial, as well as their symbolical meaning with reference to each other. As the oldest treatises on ritual practices extant in any literature, they are of great interest to the student of the history of religions in general, besides furnishing much important material to the student of Indian antiquity in particular.

The Brāhmaṇa comes next the Vedas in antiquity and importance. It is the Hindu "Talmud" and was intended mainly for the use of the Brāhmaṇa priests and so Brāhmaṇa has been taken to mean "belonging to" or "for" Brāhmaṇas.

Brahmanised.¹ Thus book I relates a legend in which three stages in the eastward migration of the Aryans can be clearly distinguished. Māthava, the king of Videgha (the older form of Videha) whose family priest was Gauttama Rahugana, resided on the bank of Sarasvati (in the Punjab). Agni Vaiśvānara (fire-god—here typical of Brahmanical culture) thence went burning along this earth towards the east, followed by Māthava and his priest, till he came to the river Sadānira (probably the modern Gandaka, which runs into the Ganges near Hajipur), which flows from the northern mountain, and which he did not 'burn over'. Māthava,

The Śatapatha Brāhmana means the Brāhmana of the 100 paths or parts (rituals or sacrifices).

Cf. Dowson's 'Hindu Classical Dictionary,' p. 60, 1914, also pp. 116-138 of Weber's 'History of Indian Literature,' 1904.

¹i.e. not yet brought under the influence of the ancient religion of which the Brāhmanas were the exponents. The Brāhmanas, a priestly class or caste, form the first of the four divisions of the Hindus (i.e. Brāhmanas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras).

Cf. the 'Śatapatha Brāhmana,' Bibliotheca Indica series, No 961, Calcutta, 1901, pp. 258-67.

शतपथब्राह्मणम् ।

प्रथम काण्डम् (४ च० १ आ०)

एतायेति । विदेघो (जो) हमाथ (ध) वोऽग्नि वैश्वानर सुखे बभार तस्य गोतमोराज्ञगणं चधिः पुरोहितं आस तस्मै हस्मान्य माणेन प्रतिशृणोति मेमेऽग्निवैश्वानरो सुखान्निष्यद्याता इति ॥ १० ॥

तन्मग्निर्जयितुं दध्ने । धीति होत्र ता कर्वदुमन्तम समिधीमहि अग्ने हवन्तमध्वरे विदेधेति ॥ ११ ॥

सम्प्रति शुश्राव । उदये शुश्रयन्ताव शुक्राभाजन्तर्दरे तव व्योती १७ चर्चयो विदेधाच इति ॥ १२ ॥

सहनेव प्रतिशुभाव । तस्य हृतखवोमह इत्येवामि व्याहरदद्यास्य हृतकीर्ताववोऽग्निवैश्वानरो सुखादुज्ज्वलात् तन्नशशाकधारविडं शास्य सुखान्निष्येदे सहसा श्रियवीं प्रापाद् ॥ १३ ॥

तर्हि विदेघो (जो) माथ (ध) व आस सरस्वत्या १७ सततरन्वप्राञ्चन्तमौवायेमां श्रियवीं त गोतमस्यराज्ञगणो विदेघ (ज) हमाथ (ध) वः पश्चादहम् मन्वीयतुः सहसाः सर्वान्दौरति ददाह । सदानौरेत्युत्तराङ्गिरेभिर्धावति तां १७ हवनातिददाहता १७ हस्मानां पुरा ब्राह्मणानतन्मग्निं दग्धाग्निना वैश्वानरेणेति ॥ १४ ॥

तत एतर्हि । प्राचीन बहवो ब्राह्मणास्त्राज्ञां चोत्तरमिवासस्त्रावितर मिवास्त्रादितमग्निना वैश्वानरेणेति ॥ १५ ॥

तदुदितर्हि चोत्तरमिव ब्राह्मणास्त्राज्ञां मूलमेवमध्वरे सिध्दन्तसापि अघ्ननेनिदाघे समिवैव कोपयति तावच्छीता मतिदग्धा अग्निना वैश्वानरेण ॥ १६ ॥

सहोवाच । विदेघो (जो) माथ (ध) वः क्वाहंभवानीत्यत एवचे प्राचीनं भुवनमिच्छिहोवा च । सैवा तर्हि कोमलविदेहानां मर्यादा तैर्हि माथ (ध) वाः ॥ १७ ॥

the Videgha, then said to Agni, "Where am I to abide?" Agni replied, "To the east of this river be thy abode." It is related that the Brāhmaṇas did not cross this river in former times, as the land to the east of Mithilā had not been burnt over by Agni. But in course of time Brāhmaṇas caused Agni to taste it by means of Vajñās (i.e. sacrificial rites) and converted a marshy region into a highly cultivated country. It may be noted that this river Sadānira (Gaṇḍaka) formed the boundary between the ancient Āryan (Hindu) kingdoms of Kośalā (Oudh) and Videha (Mithilā or Tirhut) even during the early period of the composition of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa affords certain clear evidence that the Brahmanical system had extended over Videha (Tirhut). The court of king Janak of Videha was thronged with Brāhmaṇas from the Kuru-Pañcālā² country. The tourna-

Civilisation of Tirhut.

यद्यहोवाच जातमोराङ्गणः कथमुक्तः आनभ्यमाणो तत्रत्यत्रौषीरिति । स होवाचाग्निर्मे
वैश्वानरो मुखेभ्यः नेनो मुखाभिष्यद्यति तस्मान्नेमत्रत्यत्रौष मिति ॥ १८ ॥

तदुक्तमभ्यदिति । यत्रैवं त्वं दृष्टमत्रौषीसह । इत्यभिष्यादपौंसद्वैव मेष्टमकोत्तावग्निर्वैश्वानरो-
मुखादुदुक्वालीकृतं नाशकं धारयितुं समेमुखाग्निरथादौति ॥ १९ ॥ इति ॥

¹ It is not quite improbable that this Videha Madhava was the same person as Mithil, cf. pp.

Gautam Raghugana is mentioned in the Rig Veda and this would put the colonisation of Mithilā by the Āryan races during the period of the Rig Veda, cf. Hymn LXXIV-LXXXII, Vol. I (Hymns of the Rig Veda by Griffith, 1896).

² The country of the Kurus, called Kurukṣetra, as specifically the holy land of the Yajurvedas and of the Brāhmaṇas attached to them. It lay in the plain between the Sutlej and the Jamuna, beginning with the tract bounded by the two small rivers, Dṛśadvati and Sarasvati, and extending south-eastwards to the Jamuna. It corresponds to the modern districts of Sirhind and Thanesvara in the Punjab, and is a plain near Delhi, south east of Thanesvara, not far from Panipata, the scene of many battles in later days. Closely connected with, and eastward of this region, was situated the land of the Pañcālas, which, running south-east from the Meerut district to Allahabad, embraces the territory between the Jamuna and the Ganges called the Doab. Kurukṣetra was the country in which the Brāhmaṇic religious and social system was developed, and from which it spread over the rest of India. It claims a further historical interest as being in later times the scene of the conflict, described in the Mahābhārata, between the Pañcālas and Matsyas on the one hand and the Kurus, including the ancient Brāhmaṇas, on the other. In the famous law book of Manu the land of the Kurus is still regarded with veneration as the special home of Brāhmaṇism, and as such is designated Brahmaparvata. Together with the country of Pañcālas, and that of their neighbours to the south of the Jamuna, the Matsyas (with Mathura, now Muttra, as their capital) and the Surasenas, it is spoken of as the land of Brāhmaṇa sages, where the bravest warriors and the most pious priests live, and the customs and usages of which are authoritative.

As regards the "Pañcāla" it would seem from the Mahābhārata to have occupied the lower Doab; Manu places it near Kanauj. It has sometimes been identified with the Punjab, and with "a little territory in the more immediate

ments of argument which were there held form a prominent feature in the later books of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (the Brhadāranyakopaniṣada). The hero of these is Yājñavalkya, who, himself a pupil of Aruṇi, is regarded as the chief spiritual authority in the Brāhmaṇa.¹ The innumerable references to Yājñavalkya and Mithilā, together render it highly probable that Yājñavalkya was a native of Videha. The fact that its leading authority, who, thus, appears to have belonged to this eastern country, is represented as conquering the most distinguished teachers of the west in argument, points to the redaction of the White Yajurveda having taken place in this eastern region.

King Janaka was renowned for his munificence all over India and kings of distant countries used to be envious of him.²

The *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*³ contains many interesting episodes. One of these is that king Janaka commenced *Aśvamedha Yajña* (i.e. horse sacrifice) which attracted Brāhmaṇas from distant countries like the Panjab. He sought to know who was the wisest man in the sacred assembly. He tethered a thousand cows with gold-covered horns to be presented to the man who proved himself, to be the wisest, and Yājñavalkya, who defeated all other Paṇḍitas won all the cows and became Guru (preceptor) of the king.

neighbourhood of Hastinapur." Wilson says, "A country extending north and west from Delhi, from the foot of the Himalayas to the Chambal." It was divided into Northern and Southern Pañcālas, and the Ganges separated them. Cunningham considers North Pañcāla to be Rohilkhand, and South Pañcāla the Gangetic Doab. The capital of the former was Ahi-chatra, identical with the modern Kampila, on the old Ganges between Badaun and Farrukhabad.

Cf. pp. 172 and 226 of Dowson's 'Hindu Classical Dictionary,' London, 1914.

Cf. pp. 174-75 of Macdonell's 'Sanskrit Literature,' London, 1917.

Also p. XLI of 'Sacred Books of the East,' Vol. XII, 1882.

¹ Excepting Books VI-X.

Also cf. Rapson's 'Ancient India,' 1916, p. 57.

² Cf. Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad, ch. 2, Brahman 1 śloka 1 (Bombay 1914).

ॐ ॥ दत्तवासाकिर्णूचानो गार्ग्य आस स होवाचाजातश्च काशं ब्रह्म ते ब्रूवाणीति स होवाचाजातश्च सङ्ख्यमेतस्यां वाचि द्यो जनको जनक इति वै जना धावन्तीति ॥

³ The last book of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, which consists of 14 books forms the Aranyaki, the 6 concluding chapters of which form the *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*.

⁴ Cf. Brhadāranyakopaniṣada, 3rd Adhyāya, 1st Brāhmaṇa.

जनको वैदेहो बलदक्षिणेन यज्ञेनेति, तत्राहं कुरु पञ्चाक्षरानां ब्राह्मणा अभि समेत

The Brhadāranyakopaniṣada is full of the sage Yājñavalkya's discourses. The dialogues on highly philosophical subjects between Maitreyī and Yājñavalkya and that between Yājñavalkya and Gārgī¹ at Janaka's court, point

बभूवुस्तस्य च जनकस्य वैदेहस्य विजिज्ञासा बभूव, कः स्विदेष्टां ब्राह्मणानां नूचानतम इति मच्च गवां सचस्वमवरोध दश दश पादा एकैकस्याः शृङ्गथोरावज्जा बभूवुः ॥

Also

ताहोवाच ब्राह्मणा भगवन्तो यो वो वृद्धिष्ठः स एता गा उदजतमिति । ते च ब्राह्मणा न दृष्टवुरथ च याज्ञवल्क्यः स्वमेव ब्राह्मचारिणमुवाचैताः सोम्योदज सामश्रवा इ इति ता होदाचकार ते च ब्राह्मणाश्चक्रधुः कथं नो वृद्धिष्ठो ब्रवीतेत्यथ च जनकस्य वैदेहस्य होताऽश्वलो बभूव स चैवं पप्रच्छ त्वं नु खलु नो याज्ञवल्क्य वृद्धिष्ठोऽसी इ इति स होवाच नमो वयं वृद्धिष्ठाय कुर्मो गोकामा एव वयं स इति तच्च तत एव प्रष्टुं दध्रे होताऽश्वलः ॥ ९ ॥

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Cf. pp. 1390 to 403, Brhadāranyakopaniṣad, Bombay, 1914.

Also cf. Brhadāranyakopaniṣad, 4th Adhyāya, 4th Brāhmaṇa, p. 690.

तूदेतदृचा ऽभ्युक्तम् । एष नित्यो मद्धिमा ब्राह्मणस्य न वर्धते कर्मणा नो कनौयान् । तस्यैव स्यात्पदवितं विदित्वा न लिप्स्यते कर्मणा पापकेनेति । तस्मादेवं विच्छान्तो दान्त उपरतस्त्विति च समाहितो भूत्वाऽऽत्मन्येवा ऽऽत्मानं पश्यति सर्वमात्मानं पश्यति नैनं पाप्मा तरति सर्वं पाप्मानं तरति नैनं पाप्मा तपति सर्वं पाप्मानं तपति विपापो विरजो विचिकित्सो ब्राह्मणो भवत्येव ब्रह्मलोकः सचाडेन प्रापितोऽसीति होवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः सोऽहं भगवते विदेहान्ददामि मां चापि सदास्ययेति ॥ ९३ ॥

¹ Cf. Brhadāranyakopaniṣada, 21d Adhyāya, 4th Brāhmaṇam, pp. 341-60.

मेचेयेति होवाच याज्ञवल्क्य उवाच स्यात् अरेऽहमस्मात्स्थानादस्मि जन्त ते ऽनया कात्यायन्याऽन्तं करवाणीति ॥ ७ ॥

सा होवाच मेचेयी । धन्न म इयं भगोः सर्वा प्रथिवी वित्तेन पूर्णास्यायं कथं तेनामृता स्यामिति नेति होवाच याज्ञवल्क्यो यथैवोपकरणवतां जीवितं तथैव ते जीवितं स्यादमृतत्वस्य तु नाऽऽश्नाऽसि वत्तेनेति ॥ ९ ॥

सा होवाच मेचेयी येनाहं नामृता स्यां किमहं तेन कुर्यां यदेव भगवान्वेद तदेव मे ब्रूहीति ॥ ९ ॥

सहोवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः प्रिया वतारे नः सती प्रिय भावस एह्यासुस्व आख्यास्यामि ते व्याचक्षाणस्य तु मे निदिध्यासयेति ॥ ४ ॥

Yājñavalkya had two wives Maitreyī and Kātyāyani.

For the discussion with Gārgī. Cf. Brhadāranyakopaniṣad, 3rd Adhyāya, 6th Brāhmaṇam, pp. 465-66.

अथ केन मार्गी वाचकवी पप्रच्छ याज्ञवल्क्येति होवाच यदिदं सर्वमप्लोतं च प्रोतं च कस्मिन् खल्वाप ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति वायो मार्गीति कस्मिन् खलु वायुरोतश्च प्रोतश्चेत्यन्तरिक्षलोकेषु मार्गीति कस्मिन् खल्वन्तरिक्षलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति गन्धर्वलोकेषु मार्गीति कस्मिन् खलु गन्धर्वलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेत्यादित्यलोकेषु मार्गीति कस्मिन् खलवादित्यलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति चन्द्रलोकेषु मार्गीति कस्मिन् खलु चन्द्रलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति मन्वन्तलोकेषु मार्गीति कस्मिन्

to the great erudition of Mithilā women of those days and show that even in the Vedic period Mithilā was famous for Sanskrit learning and that even the women of the country could discuss philosophy with learned Ṛṣis (sages) of those days.

It is well known that this Yājñavalkya, son of Devaratha, is the author of the Smṛti known after him. The Yājñavalkya Smṛti says, "मिथिलास्थः स योगीन्द्रः क्षणं ध्यात्वा^१।

The author of the Mitākṣarā law was a native of Mithilā.

खलु नक्षत्रलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति देवल्लोकेषु गार्गीति कस्मिन् खलु देवल्लोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेतिन्द्र लोकेषु गार्गीति कस्मिन् खल्विन्द्रलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति प्रजापतिलोकेषु गार्गीति कस्मिन् खलु प्रजापतिलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति ब्रह्मलोकेषु गार्गीति कस्मिन् खलु ब्रह्मलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति स होवाच गार्गीमासति प्राचीर्मा ते मूर्धा व्यपन्नदन्ति प्रश्नां वै देवतामति प्रच्छसि गार्गी मासति प्राचीरिति ततो ह गार्गी वाचक्रम्युपररमि ॥ १ ॥

Also cf. 3rd Adhyāya, 8th Brāhmaṇam, pp. 478-91.

अथ ह वाचक्रम्युवाच ब्रह्मणा भगवन्तो हन्ताहमिमं द्वौ प्रश्नौ प्रक्ष्यामि तौ चेन्ने वक्ष्यति न जातु युष्माकस्मिन् कश्चिद्ब्रह्मोद्यं जेतेति प्रच्छ गार्गीति ॥ १ ॥

ॐ होवाचाहं वै त्वा याज्ञवल्क्य यथा काश्यो वा वैदेशो वोपपुत्र उज्ज्वं धनुरधिष्यं कृत्वा द्वौ वाणावन्तौ सपत्न्यातियाधिनै । हस्ते कृत्वावेतिष्टेदेवमेवाहं त्वा द्वभ्यां प्रश्नाभ्यामुपोदस्यां तौ मे ब्रूयैति प्रच्छ गार्गीति ॥ २ ॥

Also cf. Rapson's 'Ancient India,' 1916, p. 63.

Yājñavalkya was a disciple of Vaisampayana who was a disciple of Vyāsa. But he incurred Vaisampayana's displeasure and was asked to give up the "Yayurveda" he had learnt from him. He obeyed his preceptor and the "Veda" given up by him was picked up by other disciples of Vaisampayana (who transformed themselves into "Tittiris" i.e. partridges, birds, for the purpose) and came to be known as "Taittiriya Yayurveda Śākhā." Thereupon Yājñavalkya meditated upon the sun and acquired fresh lore (the Śukla Yayurveda Mādhyāndiniyā Śākhā) and became a Yogi.

^२ Cf. Yājñavalkya Smṛti, 3rd Adhyāya, Sloka No. 100.

ज्ञेयं चारण्यकमहं यदादित्यादवाप्तवान् । योगशास्त्रं सन्तीकृतं ज्ञेयं योगमभ्यसता ॥

पुनर्याज्ञवल्क्यस्य ऋष्यादिद्याप्राप्तिः विष्णु पु० अ० १ अ० ५ ।

Cf. also the Viṣṇupurāṇa.

(पराशरउवाच) यजुर्वेदतरोः-शाखास्तुप्रविशन्महासुनिः । वैशम्पायननामासौ यास-
श्रिष्यश्चकार वै ॥ शिष्येभ्यः प्रददौ तास्य जटछलेऽप्यनुक्रमात् ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यस्य तनाभूद्ब्रह्मणस्य सुतो द्विजः । शिष्यः परमधर्कज्ञो गुह्यद्विपः सदा ।
"अविद्योऽहं महामेरोः समाजोनागमिष्यति । तस्य वै सप्तरात्रात्तु ब्रह्महत्या भविष्यति" । पूर्वमेव
सुनिगणैः समथो यः कृतो द्विज । वैशम्पायन एकस्तु तं अतिक्रान्तासदा ॥ खलीयं बालकं
सोऽथ पदास्तुष्टमताङ्गयत् । शिष्यानाह स भोः शिष्याः ब्रह्महत्यापदं व्रतम् चरध्वं मत्कृते सर्वे न
विचार्यमिदं तथा । अथाह याज्ञवल्क्यस्तु किमेतिर्भगवन् द्विजैः । क्षेमिदैरल्पतेजोभिश्चरिष्येऽमिदं
व्रतम् ॥ ततः क्रुद्धोगुरः प्राह याज्ञवल्क्यं महासुनिम् सुचतांय्य ज्वयाधीतं मत्तो विप्रावमानक ।
निस्तेजसो वदस्येनान्यत्वं ब्राह्मणपुंगवान् तेन शिष्येण नार्थोऽस्ति समाज्ञाभकारिणा १० याज्ञ-

ब्रवीन्मुनीन्” (i.e. he became a *Muni* (sage) after meditating only for a moment).

This Yājñavalkya Smṛti is the foundation of the

बल्कास्तः प्राञ्च भक्तैतत्ते मयोदितम् । मनाप्यस्य त्वयाधीत यन्मया तदिदं द्विज । (प० ७०)
इत्युक्तो यधिराज्ञानि सरुपाणि यजूषि सः । बर्द्धयित्वा ददौ तस्मै ययौ स स्वेष्ट्या मुनिः ॥

यजूष्यथ विष्टुष्टानि याज्ञवल्क्येन वै द्विज । जगत्कृत्स्नितिरा भूत्वा तैत्तिरीयास्तु ते ततः ॥

ब्रह्महत्यामृत चौर्यं गुरणा चोदितैस्तु तैः । चक्रुराध्वर्यवन्तोऽत्र चरणान्मुनिसत्तम ॥

याज्ञवल्क्योऽपि मैत्रेय प्राणायामपरायणः । तुष्टाव प्रथतस्सूर्यं यजूष्यभिलषंस्ततः ॥

(प० ७०) इत्येवमादिभिस्तेन सूथमानः स वै रविः । वाजिरूपधरः प्राञ्च प्रियतामिति वाञ्छितम् ॥

याज्ञवल्कास्तदा प्राञ्च प्रणिपत्य दिङ्माकरम् । यजूषि तानि मे देहि यानि सन्ति न मे गुरौ ॥

(प० ७०) एवमुक्तो ददौ तस्मै यजूषि भगवान्विः । अयस्त्वयानसंज्ञानि यानि वेत्ति जगद्गुरुः ॥

यजूषि यैरधीतानि तानि विप्रैर्द्विजोत्तम । वाजिनस्ते समाख्याताः स्त्रियोऽप्यसौ भवेद्यतः ॥

तथा च वाजिना (अध्वरूपधरेण सूर्येण) प्रोक्तमधीयाना ब्राह्मणा अपि वाजिनः । “पोक्ता-
ल्लुक्” इति प्रोक्तार्थप्रत्ययान्तद्वयेष्वपि लुक् । प्रोक्तार्थस्यापि लुक्त्वान्वयः ॥ याज्ञवल्कास्य वाजसनेय
संज्ञाप्यसि । तत्कारणन्तु याज्ञवल्कास्य पिता ब्रह्मरातो नाम स च कुलपतिरसंख्यातान् ब्राह्मणा-
नन्यांश्चाङ्गदानेन पुषोषेति स वाजसानिः वाजोऽङ्गं सनिर्दानं यस्य सः । तस्य पुत्रो वाजसनेयः । ॥ ७१ ॥
दक्षेयः । तेन प्रोक्तमधीयाना ब्राह्मणादयो वाजसनेयिन उच्यन्ते ॥

But also cf. the Skanda Purāṇa, Nāgara khaṇḍa, 129th Adhāya where Yājñavalkya is stated to have been a priest at the Court of Supriya, Rājā of “Nāgara” and where he is said to have given up the “Yayuvēda” at the instance of his Guru Śākalya and not Vālsampāyana. It would appear from this account that he came to Mithilā to Janaka’s Court after leaving “Nāgara.”

This place or city “Nāgara” has been identified with the ruins of an ancient city extending over about 4 miles in the Jayapore Estate, 25 miles to the south-south-east of Tonki, and 45 miles to the north and north-east of Bundi—Cf. A. C. L. Carileyle, in Cunningham’s report on the Archaeological Survey of India, Volume VI, pp. 161-2; also there is another old city some 11 miles north of “Chitore” called “Nāgarī” or “Tambavati Nagari”—Cf. Cunningham A S.R., Vol. XIV, page 146; also cf. Weber’s ‘History of Indian Literature,’ p. 104, 1904, and also the footnote.

Skanda Purāṇa, Nāgara khaṇḍa—

याज्ञवल्कायन खान्दे नागरखण्डे च १९९ Sambat 1966, Bombay.

चाटकेश्वरचोचनमचाटयोपक्रमे-आसीद्वाङ्मणशार्दूलः शाकल्य इति विश्रुतः । भार्गवान्वयसम्भूतो
वेदवेदाङ्गपारगः ५ दृष्टकल्पे पुरा विप्रा वर्द्धमाने पुरोत्तमे । बह्विश्वसमायुक्तो वेदाध्ययनतत्परः ।
१९ इत्यादि ।

(६० ७०) तथान्योऽपि च तन्नास्ति याज्ञवल्कासमुद्भवः । आश्रमो लोकविख्यातो मूर्खानामपि-
सिद्धिदः । यत्र तस्मात्तपसीं याज्ञवल्क्येन धीमता । सम्प्राप्ता निखिला वेदा गुह्यापहृताश्च ये ।
अस्य गुरु भार्गवान्वयसम्भूतः शाकल्य आसीत् स हि धर्यवंशीयस्य सुप्रियस्य राज्ञः पुरोहितः
वर्द्धमानपुरे न्यवसत् (नागरदेशे) स प्रत्यङ्गं शान्त्युदकं राज्ञे शिष्यदत्तेन प्रयच्छति स्म । एकदा
राजाप्तिकं गन्तुं याज्ञवल्काः, शान्त्युदकहस्ताः प्रचिताः । (अयं पूर्वजन्मनि ब्रह्मासीत् वैवाहिके-
काशिवेधां गतस्य ब्रह्मोर्निन्द्यरेव प्रहसन्ब्रह्मा तेन श्रोतृमानवोऽभवदित्यपि अवैवाख्यायते) याज्ञवल्का
वेष्ठासंज्ञाकारकविद्यतो राजनिकटं गतस्तेन आवाहयायोक्तः “उच्छिष्टोऽहं द्विजश्रेष्ठ शय्याकूटोव-
क्षिता । अत्र शाखोद्भवे, सन्ने तस्मादेतज्जलं क्षिपेत्पुत्रोऽयमथा कृत्वाऽऽगतः । कृत्वा च तद्वर्णे सपत्नवोऽ

Mitākṣarā law on civil usage (expounded by Vijñāneswara¹, who flourished at the court of king Vikrama) which is respected and followed so widely in India².

A later king of this dynasty, called Śiradhīwaja Janaka, had his capital at Mithilā³ which is identified with the

भवत् । तद्वद्वा तदीयं प्रभावचुञ्चान्तरङ्गो राजा शकल्यशिशुमसाच्च मासयभिवेकजल प्रयच्छेति ।
अनुतापिनमप्यवज्ञाकारिणन्तं समाभिवेकस्यार्हं नासीति प्रत्याख्याय गुर्वन्तिकमागतः । द्वितीय-
दिने तमेव ग्रान्युदकचक्षुप्रहितुं शकल्यो राजभित्तितो याज्ञवल्क्यन्तथा कर्तुमाह ॥ स नाङ्गी-
चकार क्रुद्धेन गुरणाऽधर्मेण सन्नेषाभिमन्त्रितं जलं जानाथ दत्ता महतां विद्या भयच्छे-
त्यभित्तितो याज्ञवल्क्य स्थाप्यत्वा स्वयं सवाय सर्वासुदवाम, गत्वा च द्वाटकेष्वरे तपस्व्ये । तद्वत्तद्वो
वेदांस्तदुपदिष्टोपायेन लब्धवान् । ततश्च एवं सिद्धिसमापन्नो याज्ञवल्क्यो द्विजोत्तमः । कल्पोपनिषद्
चारवेदार्थैः सकलैर्युतम् । जनकाय नरेन्द्राय व्याख्याय च ततः परम् । कात्यायनं सुतं प्राप्य
वेदसूत्रस्य कारकम् । त्यक्त्वा कलेवर तत्र ब्रह्मद्वारि विनिर्भिते । तत्तेजो ब्रह्मणो गात्रे योजयामास
शक्तिरिति ।

¹ It cannot be said for certain that this Vijñāneswara who lived at Kalyana (in Bombay) was a Maithila. The following last śloka from Mitākṣarā is significant:—

नासीदस्ति भविष्यति क्षितितले कल्याणकल्पं पुरम् ।
नो दृष्टः श्रुत एव वा क्षितिपतिः श्रीविक्रमाकोपमः ।
विज्ञानेश्वरपण्डितो न भजते किञ्चान्यदन्योपमः ।
चाकल्पं स्थिरमस्तु कल्पलंतिका कल्पतदेतत् त्रयम् ॥

² But it may be noted here that it is curious that this Mitākṣarā did not find favour with Bengal where Dāyabhāga prevails. Cf. pages 428-36 of Macdonell's 'History of Sanskrit Literature,' London, 1905.

³ Cf. Vālmiki's 'Ramāyaṇa,' Bombay, 1911, by T. R. Kṛṣṇacāryya and Vyāsa-cāryya.

अथ रामस्यायोध्यातो विश्वामित्रेण सप्त मिथिलायै प्रस्थानम् ।

बाल्मीकीयरासायणे बालकाण्डे सर्गे १९ अयोध्यातः प्रस्थानानन्तरम् “अथर्द्धयोजनं गत्वा
सरस्वा दक्षिणे तटे.. बलामतिबलाच्चैव सर्वज्ञानस्य मातरौ ॥.. प्रतिजघाच्च ते विद्ये महर्षेर्भावि-
तात्मनः.. जघृक्षां रजनीं तत्र सरस्वां समुखं त्रयः ॥ (१९ सर्ग) प्रभातायान्तु शर्वर्या.. गमनाया-
भितस्ततः ४ तौ प्रथान्तौ महावीर्या दिव्यां त्रिपथगां नदीम् दृष्ट्वा ततस्तत्र सरस्वाः सङ्गमे शुभे ।
तत्राश्रमपदं पुण्ड्रवौष्णां भवितात्मनाम् ॥.. ततः कस्यायमाश्रमः पुण्ड्रः को ऽन्वस्मिन्वसते पुमान्
इतिप्रश्ने कन्दर्पीसूत्तिसानासीत्कास इत्युच्यते बुधैः । तयस्तस्मिन्निहस्त्राणुं नियमेन समाहितम् ॥..
तस्यायमाश्रमः पुण्ड्रस्त्येमे मुनयः पुरा । शिष्या धर्मपरा वीर तेषां पापघ्न विद्यते । इहाद्य रजनीं
नाम वसेन शुभदर्शन । पुण्ड्रयोः सरितोर्मध्ये अस्तरिध्यामहे वयम् । (सर्ग १४) ।

ततः प्रभाते विमले कृतान्धिकमरिन्दमौ । विश्वामित्रं पुरस्कृत्य नद्याक्षीरमुपागतौ.. ततार
सहितस्त्राभ्यां सरितं सागरंगमाम् ॥.. ततः सङ्गमशब्दमाकर्ण्य तत्कारणे दृष्टे विश्वामित्रेण सूक्ष्मो
बधितौ रामलक्ष्मणौ ताभ्यान् तावभौ कृत्वा प्रणाममतिधार्मिकौ । तौरन्दक्षिणमासाद्य जम्बतु-
र्लघुविक्रमौ । स वनं घोरसंकाशं दृष्ट्वा नरवरात्मजः । अविप्रवृत्तमेवैवाकः पश्यन् मुनिपुङ्गवम् । अतो
वनमिदं दुर्गमं निजिकागणसंयुतम् ।... सङ्गौर्षं वदरौभिश्च किन्विदं दारणं वनम् । तमुवाच
महातेजा विश्वामित्रो मुञ्चामुनिः ॥ श्रूयतां वत्स काकुत्स्थ यस्मैतदारणं वनम् । एतौ जनपदौ

स्त्रीतो पूर्वमासां नरोत्तम १७ मलदाश्चकषाश्च देवनिर्माणनिर्क्षितौ । इत्युपक्रम्य अत्र ताडकाया निवासमुक्ता तद्वधं चोपदिश्य रामेण तथानुष्ठिते प्रसङ्गेन विश्वामित्रेणास्तयामः संसंहारो रामोऽर्पितः । पुनश्च

“किमेतस्मेवसंकीर्णं पर्वतस्याविदूरतः । दृच्छच्छमिन्नो भाति परं कौतूहलं हि मे ॥ दर्शनीयं दृग्माकीर्णं मनोहरमतोव च ” इति विश्वामित्रो रामेण दृष्ट्वा च

“इत्तं राम मन्दावाहो विष्णुर्देवनमस्कृतः । वर्षाणि सुवह्मनीह तथायुगशतानि च ॥

तपस्वरणयोगार्थमुवासमुमहातपाः । एष पूर्वाग्रहो राम वामनस्य मन्दात्मनः ॥

सिद्धात्रय इतिख्यातः सिद्धो ह्यत्र मन्दातपाः ।” इत्येवं निर्दिश्य निजात्रयं प्रापितौ ॥

अथ सिद्धात्रयम् (विश्वामित्रात्रयम्) तो रामस्य मिथिलाप्रस्थानम् ।

(सर्ग २१) मैथिलस्य नरत्रेष्ठ जनकस्य भविष्यति । यज्ञः परमधर्म्मिष्ठस्तत्र आस्थामहे वयम् त्वैव नरशार्ङ्गोऽहं उदासीभिर्गमिष्यसि । अद्भुतञ्च धनूरत्वं तत्र त्वं द्रष्टुमर्हसि ।

एवमुक्त्वा मुनिवरः प्रस्थानमकरोत्तदा । सर्षिसङ्घः सकाकुत्स्थ आसनस्य वनदेवताः ॥

स्वस्ति वोऽस्तु गमिष्यामि सिद्धः सिद्धात्रयादहम् । उत्तरे जाह्नवीतीरे हिमवन्तं शिखोच्चयम् ॥

इत्युक्त्वा मुनिशार्ङ्गः कौशिकः स तपोनिधिः । उत्तरान्दिशमुद्दिश्य प्रस्थातुमुपचक्रमे ॥

तं व्रजन्तं मुनिवरमन्वगादनुसारिणाम् । शकटीयतमाद्यन्तु प्रभाणे ब्रह्मवादिनाम् ॥ १७

मृगपक्षिगणैश्च सिद्धात्रमनिवासिनः । अनुजग्मुर्मन्दात्मनो विश्वामित्रं तपोधनम्

निवर्तयामास ततः सर्षिसङ्घः सपक्षिणः । ते गत्वा दूरमध्वानं खंभाने दिवाकरे ॥

वासञ्चक्रुर्मुनिगणः शोणकूले समाहिताः । तेऽस्मंगते दिनकरे खालाज्जतज्जताश्रनाः ॥ १८

विश्वामित्रं पुरस्कृत्य निषेदुरमितौजसः ततो रामेण

“भगवन्कोन्वयं देशः सन्मन्त्रवनशोभितः ।

श्रीतुमिच्छामि भद्रम्ने वक्तुमर्हसि तत्त्वतः ॥”

इत्यादिना शोणकूलवैभव प्रश्ने महंस्थानामयंदेश इति विश्वामित्रः प्राह (२२)

तत्र ब्रह्मपुत्रस्य कुशस्य कुशाम्नादयश्चलारुः पुत्राः । तत्र कुशाम्बुना कौशाम्बीपुरीर्निर्मिता । द्वितीयस्य कुशनामस्य कन्याशतमासीत् ताम् वायुनः ६ धर्षिताः कुञ्जीकृताश्चूत्तौतिख्यातस्यर्षेष्मानस-
पुत्रेण ब्रह्मदत्तेन ता उदूढाः । स एष कुशनाम्नोराज कन्यकुञ्जनाम्नाख्यातः । यस्य विषयः (देशः) कान्यकुब्जः । कुशनामस्य गाधिनामापुत्रीभवद्यस्य पुत्रो विश्वामित्रः । स एष कुशवंशप्रसू-
तलात्कौशिकः । अस्य पूर्वजा भगिनी सत्यवती ऋचीकस्य पत्नी पत्या सञ्च सशरीरं दिवंगता । योगबलेन च (काय बृहत्कल्पनया) कौशिकी नदी च जाता । हिमवतः साप्रवृत्तेति लोकहितार्थं भगिन्याः स्नेहेन च विश्वामित्रस्य तत्र नियतो वास आसीत् पश्चात्तपः सिद्धयै सिद्धात्रये संप्राप्तः तथा च ।

“अहं हि नियमाद्राभजित्वा तां समुपागतः । सिद्धात्रयमनुप्राप्तः सिद्धोऽहं तव तेजसा १९ (सर्ग २४) ।

एवं कथयन्नास्ते शोणाकूलेरात्रिषेधंनिन्युः । ततः

“अपास्य रात्रिषेधन्तु शोणकूले मन्त्रविभिः । निशायां सुप्रभासायां विश्वामित्रोऽभ्यभाषत ।

.. अयंशोणः शुभजलोगाधः पुच्छिनमण्डितः । कतरेण यथा ब्राह्मन्तंरिष्यामहेवयम् ४

एवमुक्तस्तरामेण विश्वामित्रोऽब्रवीदिहम् । एष पत्न्या मयोदिष्टो येन यान्ति मन्त्रवयः ५

ते गत्वा दूरमध्वानं गतेऽर्धदिवसे तदा । जाह्नवीं सरितां त्रेष्ठां ददृशुर्मुनिसेविताम् ६

तां दृष्ट्वा पुण्यसलिलां खंससारससेविताम् । बभूवुर्मुनयः सर्वे मुदिताः सञ्च राघवाः ७

तस्यास्तौरं तदा सर्वे चक्रुर्वास परिप्रहम् । (सं. ४५)

village of Janakapura (in the Nepal territory to the north-east of Muzaffarpur frontier). Rāma, son of Dasaratha, the king of Ayodhya, married Siradhwaaja Janaka's daughter,

ततः प्रभाते विमले विश्वामित्रोपधनम् । उवाच राघवो वाक्य कृताङ्किकमरिन्दमः ।
गता भगवतीरात्रिः श्रोतव्य परमाद्भुतम् । तरामसरितां श्रेष्ठां पुण्यां विपथगां नदीम् ॥
नौरेषाहि सुखास्त्रीणां ऋषीणां पुण्यकर्मणाम् । भगवन्ममिह प्राप्तं ज्ञात्वा त्वरितमागता ॥
तस्य तद्वचनं श्रुत्वा राघवस्य महात्मनः । सञ्चारं कारयामास सर्वसंघस्य कौशिकः ॥
उत्तरन्तीरमासाद्य समूह्यधिगच्छन्ततः । गङ्गाकूलोनिविष्टास्ते विशालान्दृष्टुः पुरीम् ।
ततो मुनिवरसूनुं जगाम सच्च राघवः । विशालां नगरीं रम्यां दिवां स्त्रगोपमांतदा ॥
अथ विशालानामकरणम् ।

“इच्छाकोस्तु नरव्याघ्र पुत्रः परमधर्मिकः । अनांनुसायासुत्यज्ञो विशाल इति विव्रुतः ।
तेन चासीद्विह श्राने विशालेति पुरीकृता ” इति
“ततः परमसत्कारं सुमतेः प्राथराघवो । उद्यतलनिशमेकां जग्मतुर्भिथिलान्ततः ।
तां दृष्ट्वा मुनयः सर्वे जनकस्य पुरीं शुभां । साधु साध्विति शंसन्तो मिथिलां समपूजयन् ।
अथ गौतमाश्रमं दत्तान्तः ।

मिथिलोपवने तत्र आश्रमं दृष्ट्वा राघवः । पुराणं निर्जनं रम्यं पप्रच्छ मुनिपुङ्गवम् ॥
इदमाश्रमसंकाशं किंन्विदं मुनिवर्जितम् । श्रोतुमिच्छामि भगवन्कस्यायं पूर्वआश्रमः ॥
(विश्वामित्र आह)
गौतमस्य मुनिश्रेष्ठ पूर्वमासीन्महात्मनः । आश्रमो दिव्यसंकाशः सुरैरपि सुपूजितः ॥
“स चात्र तप आतिष्ठदहल्यां सचितः पुरा । वर्षपूगान्यनेकानि राजपुत्र महायशः ।
अत्र मुनिवेषधरेण्ड्रेणाहल्याधर्षणानन्तरं गौतम इन्द्रं श्रद्धां दृष्ट्वां शशाप ।
“तथा श्रद्धा च वै शक्तं भार्यामपि च शप्तवान् ॥ इह वर्षसहस्राणि बहूनि निवसिष्यसि ॥
वातभवा निराहारा तप्यन्ती भस्मशायिनी । अहस्या सर्वभूतानामाश्रमेऽस्मिन्वसिष्यसि ॥
यदा वेतद्वनं घोरं रामोदशरथात्मजः । आगमिष्यति दुर्धर्षस्तदापूता भविष्यसि ॥
तस्यातिथ्येन दुर्धर्षे लोभमोहविवर्जिता । मत्संकाशं मुदायुक्ता खं वपुर्धारयिष्यसि ॥
(सं. ४६) “तदागच्छमहातेज आश्रम पुण्यकर्मणः ।
तारयैतमहाभागमहल्यां देवकपिणीम्”

विश्वामित्र वचः श्रुत्वा राघवः सच्च लक्षणः । विश्वामित्रं पुरस्कृत्य आश्रमं प्रविवेश ॥
.. गौतमोऽपि महातेजा अहल्यासचितः सुखी । रामं सम्पूज्य विधिवत्तपस्त्रये महातपाः ।
रामोऽपि परमां पूजां गौतमस्य महासुनेः । सकाशाद्विधिवत्प्राप्य जगाम मिथिलान्ततः ॥
ततः प्रागुत्तरां गत्वा रामः सौमित्रिणा सच्च । विश्वामित्रं पुरस्कृत्य यज्ञवाटमुपागमत् ॥
(ततः गौतमाश्रमात्) (प्रागुत्तराम् श्रेष्ठां नदीम्) (यज्ञवाटं सौताजन्मस्थानम्)

The above śloka from Vālmiki will show that Janaka's capital was situated to the north-east of Gautama's hermitage to which Rāma came from Viśālāpurī. It is now certain that Viśālā or Viśālī is represented by modern Basarh and that no place in Mithilā claims the honour of Gautama's hermitage except Ahiyari (Ahiyā Sthāna) in Darbhanga district. Thus Janaka's capital has been rightly identified with Janakapura, which lies to the north-east of Ahiyari. This identity is supported by all ancient, popular and mythological traditions.

Also cf. Rapson's 'Ancient India,' pp. 72 and 174, 1916.

Also cf. Apte's 'Sanskrit English Dictionary,' Bombay, 1890, p. 1047.

Sitā, in accordance with the custom of Swayambara. Vālmiki, who was a contemporary of Rāma,¹ names 22 kings² of Mithilā.

It may be of interest to recall that among those who fought for Duryodhana against the five Pāṇḍava brothers and Kṛṣṇa in the war described in the Mahābhārat (Cr. 500 B.C.)³ there was a Rājā called Kṣemadhūri.⁴ He, it may be taken, was the

Mithilā in the Mahābhārat.

¹ Cf. pp. 301-09 of Macdonell's 'History of Sanskrit Literature,' London, 1917, also cf. Rapson's 'Ancient India,' p. 72, 1916, also cf. pp. 141-42 of the 'Early History of the Dekkan,' by R. G. Bhandarakara, Bombay, 1895.

² Cf. Vālmiki's 'Rāmāyaṇa,' Bālakāṇḍa, 71st Sarga, by T. R. Kṛṣṇacāryya and Vyāsacāryya, Bombay, 1911:—

(जनकवंप्रवर्णनम्)

राजाभूत् विष्णु लोकेषु विभुतः स्नेतकर्मेणा
निमिः परमधर्मात्मा सर्वसत्त्वतावरः ।
तस्य पुत्रीमिधिर्नाम मिथिला येन निर्मिता ।
प्रथमोजनको नाम जनकादभ्युदा वसुः ।
उदावसोस्तु धर्मात्मा जातो वै नन्दिवर्धनः
नन्दिवर्धन उचस्तु सुकेतुर्नाम नामतः ।
सुकेतोरपि धर्मात्मा देवरातो मन्दावस्तुः ।
देवरातस्य राजर्षेर्हृदय इति स्मृतः ।
हृदयस्य सुतोभूत् मन्दावीरः प्रतापवान् ।
मन्दावीरस्य धृतिमान् दुष्टतिः सत्य विक्रमा ।
सुधेरपि धर्मात्मा द्विष्टकेतुः सुधार्मिकः ।
द्विष्टकेतोस्तु राजर्षेर्हृदय इति विभुतः ।
हृदयस्य मरुः पुत्रो मरोः पुत्रः प्रतिविकः ।
प्रतिविकस्य धर्मात्मा जाराकीर्तिरथः सुतः ।
पुत्रः कीर्तिरथस्यापि देवमीदृ इति भुतः ।
देवमीदृस्य विबुधो विबुधस्य मन्दीप्रकः ।
मन्दीप्रक सुतोराजा कीर्तिरातो मन्दावस्तुः ।
कीर्तिरातस्य राजर्षेर्मन्दावरोमा यजायत ।
मन्दावरोमस्य धर्मात्मा खर्षरोमा यजायत ।
खर्षरोमस्य राजर्षेर्हृदयरोमा यजायतः ।
तस्य पुत्रद्वयं जज्ञे धर्मज्ञस्य मन्दावस्तुः ।
ज्येष्ठोऽथ मनुजोधाता समवीरः कुशध्वजः ॥

विष्णु पुराणे ४ अंशे ५ अध्याये ।

ततो मन्दावेजा तस्य खर्षतेजातपुत्रो हृदयरोमा हृदयरोमस्य सौरध्वजोऽभवत् ॥ ९७ ॥

³ Cf. page 285 of Macdonell's 'Sanskrit Literature' London, 1917.

Also cf. pp. 141-2 of the 'Early History of Dekkan' by R. G. Bhandarkar, Bombay, 1895.

⁴ Cf. Mahābhārata, Karṇa Parva, 5th Adhyāya.

Rājā of Mithilā¹ described as Kṣemāri in the Viṣṇupurāṇa

तथैव रथिनां त्रेष्ट चेसधूर्तिं विशाम्यते ।
निहतो गद्या राजन् भीमसेनेन संयुगे ॥
तथा राजा महेष्वासी जलसन्धौ मद्वावल् ।
सुमहत्कृदनं कृत्वा हतः सात्यकिनारणे ॥

¹ It requires some explanation why the Rājā of Mithilā espoused the cause of the evil genius Duryodhana. It would seem that he bore grudge to the five Pāṇḍavas

(i) Because Pāṇḍu, father of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, conquered Mithilā. Cf. Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, 113th Adhyaya, 28th Sloka :—

“पाण्डुना मिथिलाङ्गला विदेहा समरे जिताः”

(ii) Bhīma Sena, one of the Pāṇḍavas, fought and subdued the Rājās of Mithilā and Nepal, cf. Mahābhārata, Sabhā Parva, 29th Adhyāya.

• ततः स गण्डकान्धला विदेहान्धरतर्षभः ।
विजित्यल्पेन कालेन दर्शयामास जयत्सुभः ॥

Also cf. Sabhā Parva, 30th Adhyaya.

वैदेह कञ्चराजानं जनकं जगतीं पतिम् । विजिज्ञे पुरुष व्याघ्रो नानितौत्रेण
कर्मणा ॥ शकाञ्चवर्वराञ्चैव अजय चक्रे पूर्वकम् । वैदेहस्य तु कौन्तेयदण्डं पर्वत
मन्तिकात् ॥ किरातानामधिपतीन् जयत्सुप्रपाणवः ।

(iii) Duryodhana, son of Dhṛitaraṣṭra was well known in Mithilā as he came to learn “Gadavidya” while Kṛṣṇa and his brother Rāma (Balarāma) were in Mithilā in quest of Syamantakamaṇi (a jewel).

But it may be stated on the other hand that Balarāma (Krishna's brother) who did not take part in the Mahābhārata war, as he was preceptor of Duryodhana, took refuge during the period in Mithilā. The inference would be that Mithilā kings remained neutral.

श्रीमद्भागवते १० स्कन्धे उत्तरार्धे ५७ अध्याये Samvat 1963, Bombay.

(बलदेवस्य मिथिला गमनम्)

गण्डध्वज मारुद्भयं रथं रामजनाईनी । अन्वयातामहा वेगैरस्यै राजगुरुद्रुहम्
मिथिलायासुपवने विह्वल्य पतितं हयम् । पद्मामधालं वलः कृष्णैः पृथग् वद्रुषा ॥ १० ॥
पदातेर्भगवांसस्य पदातिस्त्रिगुणेभिना । चक्रेण सिर उत्थाय वाससो व्यचिनीकृषिम् ॥ ११ ॥
अलम्बमणिरागत्य कृष्णान्तहायजाविकम् । दृष्टादतः शतधनुर्भूषिस्तवन विद्यते ॥ १२ ॥
तत आचवलोन्नूनं समणिः शतधन्वना । कस्त्रिंशित्युपधेन्यस्तस्य सन्धेय पुरंज ॥ १३ ॥
अहं विदेहमिच्छामिद्रष्टुं प्रियतमं मम । इत्युक्त्वा मिथिलां राजन्निवेश यदुमन्दनः ॥ १४ ॥
तं दृष्ट्वा सद्योत्थाय मैथिलः प्रीतमानसः । अर्चयामास विधिवद्दक्षिणं समर्चयैः ॥ १५ ॥
उवास तस्यां कर्हिचिन्मिथिलायां समाविभुः । मानितः प्रीतियुक्तेन जनकेन मद्वावल् ॥ १६ ॥
ततोऽश्विन्द्रदां कालेधार्तराष्ट्रः सुयोधनः ॥

श्रीमद्भागवते १० स्कन्धे उत्तरार्धे ८६ अध्याये ।

(श्रीकृष्णस्य मिथिला गमनम्)

and as Kṣemādhi in the Bhāgwata Purāṇa, a presumption justified by the fact that the Pāṇḍava brothers and Śr Kṛṣṇa as well as Duryodhana were familiar with and had visited Mithilā.

According to the Purāṇas, Ikṣvaku was a kṣatriya and was son of Manu, who was son of the Sun, who sprang from Brahmā (the Creator). One of Ikṣvaku's sons was Mithi, who founded the royal family of Mithilā, which produced such eminent and scholarly kings as Janāka of Vājñavalkya's time (Brhadāranyakopaniṣad) and Siradhwaṇa Janaka, father of Sita (the heroine of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa) who married Rāma. It is said that there were 54 kings of this dynasty, of whom 20 preceded and 33 followed Siradhwaṇa Janaka.¹ It is also related that to

कृष्णः स्यासीद्विजः अथः अतदेव इति युतः । कथ्यैकभक्त्या पूर्णार्थः शान्तः कविरत्नपटः ॥ ११ ॥
 'स उवास विदेहेषु मिथिलायां गृहस्थमी । अनीचं यागताद्वार्यं निर्वर्त्तितं निजक्रियः ॥ १२ ॥
 याचमानं त्वत्पुत्रं वादुपनमत्युत । नाधिकं तावतातुष्टः क्रियाशक्ते यथोचिताः ॥ १३ ॥
 तथातद्राष्ट्रं पात्तोऽङ्गं बद्धलाञ्छ इति युतः । मैथिलो निरङ्गमान उभावप्युत्तम प्रियौ ॥ १४ ॥
 तृथो प्रसन्नो भगवान्दासकेण हत रथम् । आरुह्य साकं सुमिभिर्विदेहान्प्रथमौ प्रभुः ॥ १५ ॥
 . स्नानुपचयं संप्राप्तं मन्वानौ तं जगद्गुरुम् । मैथिलः अतदेवस्य पादयोः पेततुः प्रभोः ॥ १६ ॥
 न्यमन्त्रयेत्वं दाशार्हमातिथ्येन सह द्विल्लैः । मैथिलः अतदेवस्य युगपत्संस्तुताञ्जली ॥ १७ ॥
 भगवांस्तदभिप्रेत्य द्वयोः प्रियं चिकीर्षया । उभयोरा विशद्वेदमुभाभ्यां तदलक्षितः ॥ १८ ॥

He was so called because Sita his daughter sprang up from a furrow while he was ploughing (cf. Bhagawat Purāṇa, IX, 13, 18).

¹ The names are :— (1) Manu, (2) Ikṣvaku, (3) Mithi-Janaka-Videha, (4) Nandivardhana, (5) Suketu, (6) Devarāta, (7) Vrihaduktha, (8) Mahavirya, (9) Satyadriti, (10) Dhristaketu, (11) Haryyāśva, (12) Maru, (13) Prativardhaka, (14) Kritalatha, (15) Kriti, (16) Vridha, (17) Mahadhriti, (18) Kritināta, (19) Maharoma, (20) Suvarra-roma, (21) Hraswaroma, (22) Siradhwaṇa and Kusadhwaṇa (brothers), (23) Siradhwaṇa's son Bhānumān and daughter Sita (adopted), (24) Satadyumna (Siradhwaṇa's son), (25) Suchi, (26) Urjvaha, (27) Satyadhwaṇa, (28) Kuni, (29) Anjana, (30) Ritujita, (31) Arishtanemi, (32) Srulayu, (33) Suryaswa, (34) Sanjaya, (35) Kshemāri (36) Anena, (37) Minaratha, (38) Satyaratha (39) Satyarathi, (40), Upagu, (41) Sruta, (42) Saswata, (43) Sudhanwā, (44) Subhāsa, (45) Susrita, (46) Jaya, (47) Vijaya, (48) Rita, (49) Sunaya, (50) Vitahavya, (51) Sanjaya II, (52) Kshemaswa, (53) Dhriti, (54) Vahulaswa, (55) Kriti (with whom the dynasty came to an end).

Cf. The Vishnu Purāṇa, 4th Ansa, 5th Adhya (Bombay, 1969 Sambat).

विष्णुपुराणे ४ अंशे ५ अध्याये

(जन्मकवंश वर्णनम्)

इत्याहुः तनयो योऽसौ निमिर्नाम्ना सहस्रं वत्सरं सचकारेभे वशिष्ठं च होतारं वरयासास ।
 तमाह वशिष्ठो ऽहमिन्द्रेण पंचवर्षेण यागार्थं प्रथमं हतः । तदनन्तरं अतिपाथ्य तामागतस्तवापि

ऋत्विक् भविष्यामीत्युक्ते सद्यधिवीपतिर्न किञ्चिदुक्तवान् । वशिष्ठोऽप्यनेन समन्विष्टः मिति ।
अमर पतेर्यागमकरोत् । सोऽपि तत्काल एवात्यैर्गौतमादिभि र्यागमकरोत् ॥

समाप्तौ चामरपतेर्यागे त्वरया वशिष्ठोऽभिमन्युं करिष्यामीत्याजगाम् । तत्कर्मकर्तृत्वञ्च
गौतमस्य दृष्ट्वा स्वपते तस्मैराजं “मां प्रत्याख्यायैव तद्नेन गौतमाय कर्मान्तरं समर्पितं यस्मात्तस्मादयं
विदेहो भविष्यति” इतिशापन्ददौ ।

प्रबुद्धश्चासावनिर्पतिरपिप्राह । “यस्मान्नामसम्भावा ज्ञानत एव शयानस्य शापोऽर्गमसौ
दुष्टगुरुश्चकार तस्मात्तस्यापि देहः पतियती” इति शापं दत्त्वा देहमत्यजत् । तच्छापश्चासिवा
वरणयो स्तेजसि वशिष्ठस्य चेतः प्रविष्टम् । उर्वशी दृष्ट्वा दुःखं बीजप्रपातयोस्तयोः सकाशाद्वशिष्ठो
देहमपरं लेभे । निमेरुणि तच्छरीरमतिमनोहरगन्धैस्तैस्त्रादिभिरुपसंक्रियमाणं नैव ह्येदादि-
कन्दोषमवाप । सद्योऽमृत इव तस्थौ । यज्ञं समाप्तौ भागप्रदणाय देवानागताः ऋत्विज ऊचुः ।
“यजमानाय वरोदीयताम्” इति । देवैश्च वन्दितोऽसौ निमिराह । भगवन्तोऽखिलसंसारं दुःख-
जनितारः । न ह्येतां दृगन्य दुःखमस्ति यच्छरीरात्मनोर्वियोगे भवति । तदहमिच्छामि सकललोक
लोचनेषु वस्तु न पुनः शरीरग्रहणं कर्तुमित्येवमुक्तोऽवैरसावशेष भूतानां नेचेव्वतारितः ।
ततो भूतान्युन्मेष निनेयं वृजुः ॥

अपुत्रस्य च तस्य भ्रभुजः शरीरं मराजकभौरवो मुनयोरणा ममन्युस्तत्र च कुमारो जज्ञे ।
जननाज्जनक संजाञ्च अभृद्धिदेहोऽस्यपितेति वैदेहोमथमान्मिथिरिति । तस्योदावसुः पुत्रोऽभव-
दुदावपुर्नन्दि वर्धनस्ततः सुकुतेस्त स्मादेवरातस्ततश्च दृष्टदुक्थस्तस्य च महावीर्यस्तस्यापि सुप्रतिः ।
ततश्चाधृष्टकेतुरजीयत । धृष्टकेतोर्धर्यश्चस्तस्य च मनुर्मनोः प्रतीकस्तस्मात्कनरथस्तस्य देवमीदृशस्तस्य
च विषुधस्तस्य महाधृतिस्ततश्चकनरातस्तो महारोमा तस्य स्पर्णरोमा, तत्पुत्रो ह्रस्वरोम्णः सौरध्वजो-
ऽभवत् । तस्य पुत्रार्थं यजनभुव कृपतस्त्रीरे सौतादुहिता मनुत्यद्वा । सौरध्वजस्य आताकाशप-
पतिः कुशध्वजनामासीत् ॥

सौरध्वजस्यापत्यं भानुमान् भानुमतश्शतद्यन्तुः तस्य तु शूचिः तस्माच्चोर्जनामा पुत्रो जज्ञे
तस्यापि शतध्वजः ततः हतिः हतेरंजनः तत्पुत्रः कुरुजित् ततोऽरिष्टनेमिः तस्माच्छुतायुषः सुपार्थः
तस्मात्सुध्वजः ततः क्षेमावी क्षेमाविनोऽनेनाः तस्माद्भौमरथः तस्य सत्यरथः तस्मादुपगुः उपगोरुपगुप्तः
अत्युन्नः स्वागतस्तस्य च खानद तस्माच्च सुवर्चाः तस्य च सुपार्थः तस्यापि सुभाषः तस्य सुव्रतः
तस्मात्सुव्रताञ्जयः तस्य पुत्रो विजयः विजयस्तस्य वृत्तः वृत्तात्युनयः सुमथाङ्गीतह्वयः तस्माद्धृतिः
धृतेर्वैज्रहाञ्च तस्य पुत्रः हतिः ॥ हतौ संतिष्ठत्ययं जनकवंशः ॥

Also cf. the 9th Skandha, 1st Adhyāya, 8th Sloka of the Śrīmadabhāgawata.
Sainbat 1963, Bombay.

श्रीमद्भागवते नवमस्कन्धे १ अ० श्लो० ८ तः ।

(जनकवंशवर्णनं निमिनामोपपत्तिश्च)

परावरेषां भूतानामात्मयः पुरुषः परः । तस्य नाभेः समभवत्यद्भुतकोशी हिरण्मनः ॥

तस्मिन्मन्त्रे महाराज स्वयंभूस्तुराननः । मरौचिर्ननसस्तस्य यज्ञे तस्यापि कश्यपः ॥

दाक्षाथण्यां ततोदित्यां विवस्वानभवत्पुत्रः । ततो मनुः ब्राह्मदेवः संजायामास भारत ॥

अत्राथां जनयामास दशपुत्रान्स आत्मवान् । इत्स्वाकुल्यगश्याति दिष्टदृष्टकरुषकान्

नरिष्यन्त प्रपन्नं च नभगश्चकविं विभुः ॥ १९ ॥

ततः ५ अध्याये ।

सुवतस्तुमनोर्यज्ञ इत्स्वाकुर्ग्राणतः सुतः । तस्य पुत्रः शत ज्येष्ठाविकुचिनिमि दण्डकाः ॥ ४ ॥

ततः १३ अध्याये ।

the south-west of this kingdom lay the kingdom of Vaisālī. Their boundaries¹ have not been indicated except that they were situate to the north of the Ganges (which formed the boundary line between them and Magadha). Of Vaisālī it is said that Nedistha, another son of Manu, founded a

निमिरिष्ठाकुतबथो वशिष्टमहर्षिर्निजम् । आरभ्य सत्वं सोऽप्याह शक्रोण प्राग्वृत्तो ऽस्मिभोः ॥ १ ॥
तं निर्वर्त्त्या गमिष्यामि तावन्मां प्रतिपालय । दृष्णीमासीद्गुह्यपतिः सोऽपौन्द्रस्या करोन्मन्त्रम् ॥ २ ॥
निमिषस्रमिदं विद्वान्स्वभारभताम्बवान् । ऋत्विग्भिरपरैस्त्वावन्नागमद्यावता गुरुः ॥ ३ ॥
श्रिय यत्तिष्ठतम बौद्ध्य निर्वर्त्त्य गुरुरागतः । अशपत्यतताद्देहोनिमेः पण्डितमामिनः ॥ ४ ॥
निमिः प्रति ददौ श्रापं गुरवे ऽधर्म्मवर्त्तिने । तवापि पतताद्देहो लोभाद्धर्म्ममजानतः ॥ ५ ॥
इत्युत्सर्जं तं ददेत् निमिरध्यात्मकोविदः । मित्रावरुणयोर्जज्ञे उर्वर्ष्यां प्रपितामहः ॥ ६ ॥
गन्धर्वस्तुषु तदेवं निधाय मुनिसत्तमाः । समाप्ते तत्र यागेऽथ देवानूचुः समागतान् ॥ ७ ॥
राज्ञो जीवतु देहोऽयं प्रसन्नाः प्रभवो यदि । तथेत्युक्ते निमिः प्राह माभून्मे देहबन्धनम् ॥ ८ ॥
यस्य योगद्ववाञ्चन्ति वियोगभयकातराः । भजन्ति चरणान्मोजं मुनयोच्चरि मेधसः ॥ ९ ॥
देवं नावरुणस्य दुःखशोकभया वदम् । सर्वेषां यतो ह्यत्युर्ध्वस्यानामुदमे यथा ॥ १० ॥
(देवा ऊचुः) विदेह उष्यतां कामं लोचनेषु शरीरिणाम् । उन्मेषण निमेषाभ्यां लुकितां
१
ऽध्यात्मसंस्थितम् ॥ ११ ॥

(इति) तथा च नितरां निपतिस्पर्द्धते इति निमिः “निपस्पर्द्धायाम्” (तु० प०) ततो
।पूर्वाङ्कः । डिच्चादि लापेनिमिः । तस्यैवाचि-निमेषः । सोऽपि हि नितरां स्पर्द्धते ऽन्योऽन्यम् ।
इति निमिः सीदति (वसति) अस्मिन्निति निमेषः । इपोदराद्धिः ।)

अरीजकभयन्दर्षां मन्यमाना महर्षयः । देवं ममन्युस्म निमिः कुमारः समजायत ॥ १२ ॥
जन्मना जनकाः सो भूदैर्देहस्तु विदेहजः । मिथिलोमथनाज्जातो मिथिलायेन निर्मितः ॥ १३ ॥
तस्मादुदा वसुस्य पुत्रोऽभ्रद्विद्वर्द्धनः । ततः सुकेतुस्तस्यापि देवरातो महीपते ॥ १४ ॥
तस्माद्भुवःप्रथस्तस्य मन्त्रावीर्यः सुधृतिता । सुधृते धृष्टकेतुर्वैर्ष्यञ्चोऽथमरुतः ॥ १५ ॥
मरोः प्रतीपकस्तस्माज्जातः क्षतिरथोयतः । देवमौढस्तु सुतो विद्वतोऽथ मन्त्राधृतिः ॥ १६ ॥
क्षतिरातस्तस्तस्मान्महारोमायतत्युतः । खर्णरोमा सुतस्तस्य ऋषरोमा व्यजायत ॥ १७ ॥
ततः सीरध्वजो जज्ञे यज्ञार्थं कर्षतोमहीम् । सीता सीरापतो जाता तस्मात्सीरध्वजः स्मृतः ॥ १८ ॥
तथाच सीरोक्ष्णं “क्षपको लाङ्गलं चक्षुः । गोदारणं च सीरा” इत्यमरः । सध्वजः ध्वजवत्
(पताकावत्) व्यावर्त्तकः (लोकेप्रख्यापको) यस्य स सीरध्वज इति तन्नामनिर्दिष्टः ॥

एते वै मिथिला राजान् आत्मविद्या विशारदाः । योगेश्वरप्रसादेन द्वन्द्वैर्मुक्ता गृहेष्वपि ॥ १९ ॥

Bhagavata and Viṣṇu Purāṇa are attributed to the 5th cent. A.D. (cf. Appendix (A) V. A. Smith's 'History of India' Oxford, 1916).

¹ A theory has been advanced that this boundary line was the river Vagmati, which runs through the northern part of Muzaffarpur district. This theory is supported by the fact that the part of the district to the south of this river is called Bīsāra (which was one of the revenue divisions during the Moghul times), and that to the north is popularly known as Mithilā or Tirhut. It may also be remembered that, according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the river Sadānīr (Gandak) formed the boundary between the kingdoms of Kosalā and Mithilā and it is possible Videgh Mātāhava who led the Aryans from the Saraswati to colonise Mithilā and his priest Rahugana, wandered through the northern Himalayan regions till they came to the upper reaches of the river Gandak, and led the foundation of the Mithilā kingdom to the north of what formed the kingdom of Vaisālī.

line of kings beginning with Nābhāga, who became a Vaiṣya¹ and one of whose 33 descendants was Marutta noted in the Hindu legends for his great Yajña (sacrifice) at which all the utensils and implements used were made of gold and the Brahmanas were enraptured with the magnificent donations they received. One of Marutta's descen-

¹ Cf. Viṣṇupurāṇa, 4th Ansa, 1st Adhyaya, page 164, slokas 19 to 61, Bombay, Samvat 1967 :—

(1) Nābhāga, (2) Bhalandana, (3) Vatasapri, (4) Pransu, (5) Prajani, (6) Khanitra, (7) Kshapa, (8) Avivinsa, (9) Vivinsa, (10) Khaninetra, (11) Atibibhuti, (12) Karandhwa, (13) Avikshit, (14) Marutta, (15) Narishyanta, (16) Dama, (17) Rajyavardhana, (18) Sudhriti, (19) Nara, (20) Kevala, (21) Vandhumān, (22) Vegaman, (23) Vridha, (24) Tṛṇavindu

(25) Ilavita Viśala or Vaiśala,

(26) Visala's son, Hemachandra, (27) Suchandra, (28) Dhumraswa, (29) Srinjaya, (30) Sahadeva, (31) Kṛiśaswa, (32) Somadatta, (33) Janamejaya, (34) Sumati.

Also cf. Markandeya Purāṇa, pp. 261-301, Adhyayas 110-133, (Venkateshwar Press, Sambal 1959).

Also cf. Vayu Purāṇa, p. 144, Adhyay 24, Slokas 1-21 (Venkateshwar Press, Sambal 1952) :—

निसर्गं मनु पुत्राणां विस्तरेण निबोधत । पृथग्नो हिंसयित्वा तु गुरोर्गावम भक्षयत् ॥ १ ॥
 शपाच्छुद्रत्वमापन्नं श्रुत्वनस्य महात्मनः । कारुष्यस्तु कारुषः क्षत्रियो युद्धदुर्मदः ॥ २ ॥
 सहस्रक्षत्रियगणं विक्रान्तः संवभूव ह । नाभा गरिष्ठ पुत्रस्तु विद्वानासीद्भक्त्यन्दनः ॥ ३ ॥
 भक्त्यन्दनस्य पुत्रोभूत् प्रांशुर्नाम महाबलः । प्रांशोरेको भवत् पुत्रः प्रजानिरिति विभ्रुतः ॥ ४ ॥
 प्रजानेहभवत् पुत्रः खनिचो नाम वीर्यवान् । तस्य पुत्रोऽभवच्छ्रीमान् क्षुपो नाम महायशः ॥ ५ ॥
 क्षुपस्य विशः पुत्रस्तु प्रतिमा न बभूव ह । विशपुत्रस्तु कल्याणो विवंशो नाम धार्मिकः ॥ ६ ॥
 विवंशः पुत्रो धर्मात्मा खनिनेत्रः प्रतापवान् । करन्धमस्तस्य पुत्र स्नेता युगमुखेऽभवत् ॥ ७ ॥
 करन्धमस्तस्य अपि आविचित्रास्य वीर्यवान् । आविचित्तो व्यतिक्रामत् पितरं गुणवत्तया ॥ ८ ॥
 मरुतो नाम धर्मात्मा चक्रवर्तिसमो नृपः । संवर्तेन दिवन्मीतः ससुहृत् स ह वासवैः ॥ ९ ॥
 विवादोऽत्र महानासीत् संवर्तस्य वृहस्पतेः । खड्गं दृष्ट्वा तु यज्ञस्य श्रुत्वास्तस्य वृहस्पतिः ॥ १० ॥
 संवर्तेन हृते यज्ञे क्षुकोपः सुष्टसन्मदा । लोकानां स हि नाशाय देवतैर्हि प्रसादितः ॥ ११ ॥
 मरुतश्चक्रवर्ती स नरिष्यन्तसवाप्तवान् । नरिष्यन्तस्य दायदो राजा दण्डधरोदमः ॥ १२ ॥
 तस्य पुत्रस्तु विक्रान्तो राजासीद्राष्ट्रवर्धनः । सुष्टतो तस्य पुत्रस्तु नरः सुष्टतिनः सुतः ॥ १३ ॥
 केवलस्तस्य पुत्रस्तु बन्धुमान् केवलात्मजः । अथ बन्धुमतः पुत्रो धर्मात्मा वेगवान् नृपः ॥ १४ ॥
 बुधो वेगवतः पुत्रस्तु विन्दुर्बुधात्मजः । चेता युगमुखे राजा दत्तौघे संवभूव ह ॥ १५ ॥
 कन्या तु तस्य द्रविडा माता विश्रवसो हि सा । पुत्रस्यास्य विशालोभूत् राजा परम धार्मिकः ॥ १६ ॥

विशालस्य समुत्पन्ना विशाला नय निर्मिता । विशालस्य सुतो राजा हेमचन्द्रो महाबलः ॥ १७ ॥
 सुचन्द्र इति विख्यातो हेमचन्द्रादनन्तरम् । सुचन्द्र तनयो राजा धूषाश्च इति विभ्रुतः ॥ १८ ॥
 धूषाश्च तनयो विद्वान् वृद्धयः समपद्यत । वृद्धयस्य सुतः श्रीमान् सहदेवः प्रतापवान् ॥ १९ ॥
 वृद्धाश्च सहदेवस्य पुत्रः परमधार्मिकः । वृद्धाश्चस्य महा तेजाः सोमदत्तः प्रतापवान् ॥ २० ॥
 सोमदत्तस्य राजर्षेः सुतोभूज्जनमेजय । जनमेजयात्मजश्चैव प्रमतिर्नाम विभ्रुतः ॥ २१ ॥

dañts was 'Iṇavindu, whose son born of a nymph was Visāla, who founded the city of Vaisāli. Visāla was followed by 9 descendants, the last of whom was Sufnati. It is said that the monarchs of Vaisāli were long lived, magnanimous, equitable and valiant.

¹ Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa explains how the kings of Vaisāli (though sprung from the same stock as the kings of Mithilā) came to be Vaisya, whilst those of Mithilā remained Kṣatriyas. Nabhāga is said to have taken a Vaiśya wife and was ousted from the Kṣatriya fold. His relatives did not give him a share in his father's kingdom, but the valiance of his son, Bhalandana got back the kingdom for him. The story is told in a slightly modified form in the ninth khanda of the 'Aitareya Brahmana' which gives an account of Nediṣṭha and Nabhāga :—

Cf. Aitareya Brahman, 5th Panchika, 22nd Adhyaya, 9th khaṇḍ —

नाभानेदिष्ठ वै मानवं ब्रह्मचर्यं वसन् भानरो निरभजन्तोऽब्रवीदेत्य किं मद्यम भातेत्येतमेव निष्ठावसव वदितार नित्य ब्रुवन्त स्नाद्यायेतर्चि पितर पुत्रा निष्ठावोऽपि वदितेत्येवाऽऽ ब्रुवन्ते ।

म पितरमेत्याब्रवीच्छां च वाव मद्य त (ता) ताभाक्षुरिति तं पिताऽ ब्रवीन्मा पुत्रक तदा यथा क्षत्रिरसी वा इमे स्वर्गस्य लोकाय सवसासते ते षष्ठ षष्ठमेवाक्षरागत्य मुह्यन्ति तानेते स्मृते षष्ठेऽहनि शसय तेषां धत्सुहस सव परिवेषणं तन्मे स्वर्गन्तो दास्यन्तीति तथेति ।

तानुपैत्युतिगृहीत मानवं सुमेधस इति तमब्रुवन्ति कामो वदसीतीदमेव वः षष्ठमद्यः प्रजापथानौत्य अब्रवीदथ यद् एतत्सुहसं सवपरिवेषण तन्मे स्वर्गन्तो दमेति तथेति तानेते स्मृते षष्ठेऽहनि शसय तेषां धत्सुहस सव परिवेषणं तन्मे स्वर्गन्तो दास्यन्तीति तथेति ।

तदादेते स्मृते षष्ठेऽहनि शसति धत्सु प्रजात्यै स्वर्गस्य लोकस्यानुष्ठायै ।

त स्वर्गन्तोऽब्रुवन्त तन्मे ब्रह्मण सवसमिति तदेन समाकुर्वाणं पुत्रवः क्षया श्वास्तुत्तरत उपोत्थायीब्रवीन्मम वा इदं मम वै वास्तुहमिति सोऽब्रवीन्मद्य वा इदमदुरिति तमब्रवीत्तहै नौ तवैव पितरि प्रभ इति स पितरमेतं पिताऽ ब्रवीन्तु ते पुत्रकादुरित्यदुखे म इत्यब्रवीत्तनु मे पुत्रवः क्षया श्वास्तुत्तरत उपोदतिस्मम वा इदं मम वै वास्तुह मित्यादितेति तं पिताऽब्रवीत्तस्मैव पुत्रक तन्तु स तुभ्यं दास्यतीति स पुनरित्याब्रवीत्तव च वाय किञ्च भगव इदमिति मे पिताऽहेति सीऽ ब्रवीत्तद्वं तुभ्यमेव ददामि य एव सत्यमवादीरिति,

तस्मादेवं विदुषा सत्यमेव वदितव्यम्,

स एष सवसमिर्मेन्वो यन्नाभानेदिष्ठ,

उपैनं सवस नमति प्र षष्ठेनाक्रा स्वर्गं

लोकं जानाति य एव वेद ॥ १४ इति ।

The Aitareya Brahman is assigned to the 6th cent. B.C.

Cf. Macdonell "Sanskrita Literature," pp. 202-203.

It is now generally admitted that the 'Aitareya Brahman' is as old as, if not older than, the 'Satapatha Brahman.' This reference to Nabhāguediṣṭa is also found in the Rig Veda and Yajur Veda, where he is called the son of Manu. Cf. Griffith's Rig Veda, vol. II, p. 467, Hym. 18; p. 469, Hym. 1 & 4, p. 470, Hym. 11. These references make it highly probable that the kingdoms of Mithilā and Vaisāli were founded, almost, at the same time, though Vaisāli city may have come into existence at a later age.

It has been suggested that the Nediṣṭa Nabhāga story was created to explain "nabhāga," i.e. one without share

The story regarding Nabhāga's transformation from a kṣatriya into a Vaiśya was probably intended to explain the fact that Vaisāli became a centre of trade and commerce at an early period.

Śukadeva, 'son of Vedavyāsa' who is traditionally reputed to have composed all the Purāṇas and Mahābhārata, is said to have come to Janaka's court in Mithilā to acquire wisdom.

Though it is not easy to say when exactly the civilisation of Tirhut began, all modern scholars admit that the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa including the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad is much older than the epics Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. Rāma belongs to a much earlier period of Hindu legend than Kṛṣṇa, and all Hindu traditions state that the Rāmāyaṇa (or at least its original framework), of Vālmiki, who is traditionally recognised as the first Sanskrit poet and who, as stated in the Rāmāyaṇa itself, was a contemporary of Rāma, preceded the Mahābhārata which narrates the great war fought in the presence of Kṛṣṇa, by several centuries. Yājñavalkya and Janaka mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa belong admittedly to a much earlier period than that of Rāma, the hero of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa.

It is certain that 'Vaiśālī' was in a high state of civilisation in the 6th century B.C., when Buddhā (who is admittedly later than Kṛṣṇa) lived and this civilisation extends far into antiquity when we recall that the splen-

¹ Cf.

श्री देवीभागवते १ स्क० १६ अध्याये १७ अ० च ।

(श्री शुकदेवस्य मिथिला गमनम्)

शुक प्रति व्यासवचनम्

न चेन्नसि ते शान्तिर्वचनान्नस सुव्रत । गच्छत्व मिथिलां पुन पाक्षितां जनकेन च । ४४
म ते सोऽहं महाभाग नाशयिष्यति भूपतिः । जनको नाम धर्मात्मा विदेहः सत्यसागरः । ४५
त गत्वा व्रपतिं पुन सन्देहं संनिवर्तय । वर्णाश्रमाणां धर्मास्त्वं वृच्छ पुन यथातथम् । ४७
जीवन्मुक्तः स राजर्षि ब्रह्मज्ञानमतिः शुचिः । तथ्यवक्तातिशान्नस योगी योगप्रियः सदा । ४८
(स्मृत उवाच) तच्छ्रुत्वा वचनान्नस्य व्यासस्यामिततेजसः ।

प्रत्युवाच महातेजाः शुकश्चारणि सन्भवः ।.

(शुक वचनम् अ० १७) ।

अष्टच्छ्रेष्ठां महाभाग प्राच्यान्ते वचन मया । विदेहान्द्रष्टुं मिच्छामि पाक्षिताः जनकेन तु ।
इत्यादि (स्मृत उवाच) इत्युक्तः सोऽभिवाद्यायै कृत्वा चैव प्रदक्षिणाम् ।

चलितस्तरसानीव धनुर्मुक्तः शरीरयथा ॥

पश्यन्ने विविधान्देशांल्लोकांश्चविजधर्मिणः । वनानि पादपांश्चैव क्षेत्राणि फलिताणि च ।

.. वर्षद्वयेन मेवस्य समुल्लंघ्य महामतिः । हिमाचलं च वर्षेण जगाम मिथिलां प्रति ।

प्रविष्टो मिथिलामध्ये भग्नसर्वज्ञैः सुतमाम् । प्रजास्य सुखिताः सर्वाः सदाचारः सुसंस्मिताः ।

dour of Vaiśālī and the hospitality of the Vaiśālī king Sumati (with whom Rāma stopped for a night) are described in the Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. All this will justify the conclusion that the civilisation of Tirhut is much older than the 6th century B.C. and may go so far back as 1000 B.C. to 1500 B.C.¹

¹ Mr. Colebrooke infers, from astronomical data, that the arrangement of the Vedas, attributed to Vyasa, took place in the 14th century B.C. (Miscellaneous Essays, vol. I, pp. 109, 110 and pp. 200-202; vol. II, pp. 332, 335, 356, 357, etc.; also Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, pp. 116, 358, 359, and 360; also Prof. Whitney's notes quoted by H. E. Wilson, Translation of the Viṣṇupurāṇa, 1868, vol. II, pp. 273-75 and vol. IV, pp. 230 to 235). Mr. Bentley brings the date of Yudhiṣṭhira, the chief of the Pandawas, to 575 B.C. (Historical view of the Hindu Astronomy, p. 67). According to Colonel Wilford's calculation, the conclusion of the great war took place in 1370 B.C. (Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, Chronological Table, p. 116). The weight of authority, however, seems to be in favour of 13th to 14th century B.C. for the Mahābhārata war.

The accounts in the Purāṇas are generally discrepant, but almost all the important Purāṇas indicate that 1000 to 1150 years elapsed between Parikṣita successor of Yudhiṣṭhira (hero of the Mahābhārata) and the coronation of Candragupta Maurya. Thus the Viṣṇu Purāṇa gives 1015 years :-

यावत्परिचितो जन्म यावद्गन्दाभिषेचनम् ।

एतद्वर्षं सचक्षं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चदशोत्तरम् ॥

C/, Anśa 4, Adhyāya 24.

The Vāyu Purāṇa has 1050 years :—

महापद्माभिषेकात्तु जन्म यावत्परिचितम् ।

एतद्वर्षं सचक्षं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चाशदुत्तरम् ॥

The Bhāgawata Purāṇa finds a distance of 1115 years between the same two events :—

आरभ्य भवतो जन्म यावद्गन्दाभिषेचनम् ।

एतद्वर्षं सचक्षं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चदशोत्तरम् ॥

If this affords any approximation to reliability, it may be assumed that the Mahābhārata war took place about 1050 years before Candragupta Maurya, who was coronated about 315 B.C., i.e. Yudhiṣṭhira lived in the 14th century B.C.

If, therefore, it is assumed that Kaemari of Mithi's line was a contemporary of Yudhiṣṭhira and 36 kings preceded him in Mithilā, it follows that Mithi founded the kingdom of Mithilā about 36 × 20 or 720 years before the Mahābhārata or about 2000 B.C.

Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa assigns to Rāma 10th descent from Manu, whereas the Bhāgawata and Viṣṇu Purāṇas would place him about the 60th step from Manu. But according to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, S tā of Mithilā and Sumati (of Vaiśālī) were about 29th and 30th respectively in descent from Manu and so Rāma (their contemporary and descended from the same stock of Manu) may also be about 29th in descent from Manu.

A similar test of synchronism would make Yudhiṣṭhira 40th in descent from Manu. And if we take that Kāśya of the Bhādarāyakaopaniṣad is identical with Kāśya who is described in the Bhāgawata and Viṣṇu Purāṇas and who was a contemporary of Agniśveta in both the Upaniṣad and the Purāṇas, it follows that Janaka and Yājñavalkya of the Bhādarāyaka were contemporaries of Kāśya when the test of synchronism would make 13th in descent from Manu.

Thus we have :—

Yudhiṣṭhira

(Mahābhārata war)—1300 B.C.

CHAPTER III.

NOTE ON SOME IMPORTANT PLACES IN ANCIENT
MITHILĀ.

In the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (Cir. 500 A.D.)¹ and Bṛhad Viṣṇu Purāṇa (Cir. 500 A.D.)² mention has been made of a Champakāraṇya (a ^{Champakāraṇya or} ^{modern Champaran.} jungle of Champak flowers) as stretching along the Sālagrāmi or Nārāyaṇī (modern Gaṇḍaka), and it has been stated that this Āraṇya was a place of retreat for Aryan ascetics.³ This corresponds with the modern district of Champaran in Tirhut.

Different parts of Champaran are associated with the names of different Hindu ṛṣis (sages).

It is said that the tappa Duho-suho is so called after

Rāma and Sitā—

$300 + 15 \times 20 = 1800$ B.C.

Janaka and Yājñavalkya—

$1800 + 12 \times 20 = 2050$ B.C.

Manu—

(R̥g Veda)— $2050 + 12 \times 20 = 2300$ B.C.

But the reliability of the Purāṇas has still to be established and these conclusions are at present only of an academic interest.

¹ Cf. Appendix A to V, A. Smith's 'Early History of India,' 1914, Oxford edition (3rd).

² Cf. Appendix A to V, A. Smith's 'Early History of India,' 1914, Oxford edition (3rd).

³ Cf. Bṛhad Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Mithilā Khaṇḍa.

शोभिता तैरभुक्तिश्च धनधान्यसमाकुला ।

उत्तरे कांचनारण्यं सङ्घर्षिगणसेवितम् ॥

वङ्ग पुष्पफलोपेतं द्वितीयमिव नन्दनम् ।

सरोजवनमाख्यातं संतानवनमेव च ॥

मन्दारवन मित्येव सर्वतः पुष्पितद्रुमम् ।

चम्पकारण्यमाख्यातं केलिकौतुककाननम् ॥

कुसुदं सुखदं प्रोक्तं वसेतारण्यमेव च ।

स्फटिकप्रतिमं चैव तथा नन्द विवर्द्धनम् ॥

शृङ्गारकाननं चैव उपमानं तिरस्कृतं ।

सुगंधिरस-सम्पन्नं सुगंधिकुसुमाकरम् ॥

कदंबकान्तिकलोत्तं लवंगवनमेव च ।

केतकी वनमित्येव कांचनारण्यमध्यगम् ॥

Also Śakti Saṅgama Tantra.

गण्डकी तौरमारभ्य चम्पारण्यान्तकं शिवे ।

विदेचभूः समाख्याता तिरभुक्तिभिः जनु ।

the two wives of Rājā Uttānapāda—Du Rānī and Su Rānī.

Dhruva in Champaran It is also said that the two wives were not on friendly terms and that at the instance of Su Rānī, the Rājā sent Du Rānī into exile in the forest now covered by the part of the district called Duho Suho. Shortly afterwards, while hunting in the forest, he spent a night in the cottage where lived his banished queen. Dhruva, who was subsequently born, spent his time in the *Āraṇyas* (forests) contemplating the great problems of life. Champaran or Tirhut's claim to this eminence is, however, falsified by the account of Dhruva and his family in Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Bhāgavat Purāṇa and Skanda Purāṇa, where it is clearly stated that Dhruva practised austerities in Mathura (in the United Provinces), and the two wives of Rājā Uttāna Pāda were named Suniti and Suruci.¹

¹ Cf. Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 1st Aṁśa, 11th Adhyāya, Samvat 1969, Bombay.

विष्णुपुराणे प्र० अं० अ० ११

(ध्रुवस्य तपः सिद्धिस्थानम्)

(पराशर उवाच)

प्रियव्रतोज्ञानपादौ सभोः स्थायश्रुवस्य तु ।
द्वौ पुत्रौ तु महावीर्यौ धर्मज्ञौ कथितौ तव ॥
तयोक्तानपादस्य सुखायामुत्तमः सुतः ।
अमीष्टाथामभूद्भ्रातृ पितुरत्यन्तवक्त्रभः ॥
सुनीतिर्नाम या राजसखासीन्मन्त्रिणी द्विज ।
सन्नातिप्रौतिमांस्त्रयामभूद्यस्या भुवःसुतः ॥
राजासनस्थितस्याङ्ग पितुर्भातरमश्रितम् ।
दृष्टोत्तम भुवश्चक्रो तमारोढुं मनोरथम् ॥
प्रत्यक्षं भूपतिस्तस्याः सुखायामभ्यनन्दत ।
प्रणयेनागतम्पुत्रसुखारोहणोत्सुकम् ॥
सपत्नीतमय दृष्ट्वा तमङ्गारोहणोत्सुकम् ।
सपुत्रस्य तथारुढ सुखिर्वाव्यसन्नवीत ॥ ६ ॥

इत्येव सपत्नीमासुर्वादमुपाकृत्यो भुवः पितुर्गच्छामासुरनुसत्या बहिरुपवन गतो जगरात् ।
तत्र सुनीन्दुष्टा प्रणनाम । ततस्तैर्निवेदकारण सुखकान्त्यवलीकनेन प्रष्टुः सुखाभिहितस-
भिदधौ । उद्यतस्य स्नानमन्यैरनुपभुङ्क्तं तान्प्रच्छते च भगवतो विष्णोराराधनमुपदिष्ट्य तदर्थं
स्नानस्नानिदधुस्तत्र वि० अ० १२ ।

(पराशर उवाच)

निशम्यै तदशेषेण मैत्रेयव्रतपतेः सुतः ।
निर्जगाम वनात्तस्मत्प्रणिपत्य सताम्बरीन् ॥
कृतकृत्याभिवासानं मन्यमानस्ततो द्विज ।
मधु संज्ञं महापुण्यं जगाम यमुनातटम् ॥

Sangrāmpura, in the district of Champaran, is another important place which is said to have

The local story of the battle between Rāma and his two sons at Sangrāmpura in Champaran not borne out by the Valmiki's Ramāyana

been so called because the *sangrāma* (great battle) between the two sons of Rāma, Lawa and Kusa and their father, took place here, near the hermitage of the sage Vālmiki, where Sitā, the banished spouse of Rāma, had taken shelter. But this myth is unfounded as Valmiki says that the battle took place near the bank of the river 'Tamasā' where Vālmiki's hermitage stood.¹

पुनश्च मधुसज्जेन दैत्येनाधिष्ठित यतः ।
ततो मधुवनं नाम्ना स्थातमन्त्र मञ्जीतले ॥ ९ ॥
इत्था च लवणं रक्षो मधुपुत्र मन्त्रावलम् ।
अचुप्लो मधुरांनाम पुरीन्तव चकार वैः ॥
यत्र वै देवदेवस्य सान्निध्यं हरिमेधसः ।
सर्वपापघ्ने तस्मिन्सपत्नीर्ये चकारसः ॥
मरौचिमुख्यैर्मुनिभिर्यथोद्गुप्तमभूत्तदा ॥

Also cf Skanda Purāna.

स्कान्देऽपि काशीखण्ड पूर्वार्धे अ० १०
औत्तानपादिर्निर्गत्य ततः कामनतो द्विज ।
रम्यं मधुवनं प्राप यमुनायास्तरे मत्तम् ॥
आद्यं भगवतः स्थानं तत्पुण्य हरिमेधसः ।
पापोऽपि जन्तुस्तत्प्राय निष्पापो जायते ध्रुवम् ॥
अपन्त वासुदेवाख्यं परं ब्रह्म निरामयम् ।
अपश्यत्तन्मयं विस्मयं ध्यानस्त्रिमितलोचनः ॥

Cf. Bhāgawat Purāna, 4th Skanda, 8th Adhyāya, Samvat 1963, Bombay.

• श्रीमद्भागवतस्कन्ध ४ अध्याय ८
जाये औत्तानपादस्य सुनीतिः सुरचिस्तयोः ।
सुरचिः प्रेयसी पत्युर्नेतरायत्सुतो ध्रुवः ॥ ८ ॥
तत्तात गच्छ भद्रमेयमुनायाः तटे शुचिः ।
पुण्यं मधुवनं यत्र सान्निध्यं नित्यदाहरेः ॥
स्नात्वा नुसवनं तस्मिन्कलिन्द्याः सलिले शिवे ।

¹ Cf Vālmiki's Ramāyana, Vol. III, 1913, Bombay, by T. R. Krishnācāryya

बाष्कीकीय रामायणे उत्तरकाण्डे ४५ सर्गे
बाष्कीक्याश्रम स्थाननिर्देशः

रामस्य लक्ष्मण प्रति सीतापरित्याग प्रसङ्गे,—

गङ्गायास्तु परे पारे बाष्कीकेस्तु मन्त्रालयः ।

• आश्रम दिव्य सङ्काशस्तमसातीरमाश्रितः ॥ १७

It may be interesting in this connection, to state that local tradition in Champaran claims that the capital of Mithilā or Videha under king Janaka was at Jānakigarha,

Janakapur and Jānaki-
garha.

तत्रैनां विजने देशे विहृज्य रघुनन्दन ।

श्रीभ्रमागच्छ सौमित्रे कुरुष्व वचनं मम ॥ १८

न चास्मि प्रतिवक्तव्यः सीतां प्रति कथञ्चन । इति ।

यपा^१ च तमसा ज्योधातो विदूरे गङ्गायाः पदै पारं ब्रह्मावर्ते (विदूरप्रान्ते) वर्तते बाल्मीकेरा-
माश्रये (तमसा) वक्षति ततः किञ्चिदूरे गङ्गास्ति, तथाच बालकाण्डे १ सर्गः

समुद्रं गते तस्मिन्देवलोक मुनिस्तदा ।

जगाम तमसा तीरं जाह्नव्यास्व विदूरतः

समुत्तीरं समासाद्य तमसाया मुनिस्तदा ।

शिष्यमाह स्थित पार्श्वे दृष्ट्वातीर्थमकईमम् ४

अकईममिदन्तीर्थं भरद्वाज निशामय ।

रमणीयं प्रसन्नान्मु सन्मनुष्यमनो यथा ५

व्यसूतं बल्लणस्तार दीयतां वण्णं सरः ।

इदमेवावगाह्ये तमसातीरमुत्तमम् ६

इदमेव अत्याचम्रम् गङ्गातीर्थान् दूरेतो मध्याह्न कालातिश्रमादगन्तेतिशेषः ॥

Valmik places the river Tamāsā in the kingdom of Kosālā and between Ayodhyā (Faizabad) and Prayāga (Allahabad) :—

अथ तमसास्मितिः ।

बाल्मीकी रामायण सर्ग ४५

“एवं विप्रोऽहं तान्तेषां द्विजातीनां निवर्तने ।

दृष्ट्वा तमसा तत्र वारयन्तीव राघवम् ॥ १ ॥

“ततस्तु तमसातीरे रामस्य ब्रुवतो गुणान् ।

गोकुलाकुलतीरायास्तमसाया विदूरतः ।

अवसत्तत्र तां रात्रिं रामः प्रकृतिभिः सञ्च ”

अर्धरात्रे च “तं सन्दन मधिष्ठाय राघवः उपरिच्छद

श्रीभ्रमासी कुलावतीमतरत्तमसां नदीम् ॥ ” . .

“ततो वेदयन्तिना शिववारिवह्नां नदीम्

जन्तीर्याभिमुखः प्रायादगस्त्याधुषितां दिशम् ।

गत्वा तु सुचिरं कालं ततः शीतवह्नां नदीम् ।

गोमतीं गोयुतानूपामतरत्वागरङ्गमाम् ॥

गोमतीश्चाप्यतिश्रम्य राघवः श्रीभ्रमैर्हयैः ।

मयूरचंसामिरता मतरत्सन्दिक्तां नदीम् ” . .

“ततस्त्रिपथगां दिव्यां शीततोयामशैवलाम् ।

ददर्श राघवो गङ्गां रम्यामधिनिषेविताम् ॥ ” . .

“आससाद् महावाह्यैः प्रह्वैरुपरं प्रति ।

तासुमिंकलिजावर्तमिन्वेक्ष्य महाऋषेः ।

सुमन्त्रमब्रवीत्सुतमिहैवाद्यवसामहे ”

some 10 miles north of Lauriya Nandanagarha. But it is no longer disputed that Janakapura, in the Nepal territory, was the real seat of king Janaka.¹ It is probable that some branch of the family ruled at Jānakigarha. It is also probable that some Janaka (as all the successors of Mithi, the first mythological king of Mithilā, were called Janakas) transferred his seat for some time to Jānakigarha.

Local tradition claims that at one time or another Moṭihari, Kesariya and Lauriya Nandanagarha (all in Champaran) formed seats of the Vrijjian tribes.²

At Nandanagarha great mounds of earth still exist, erected probably to serve as sepulchral barrows for their rulers. In one of them one punch-marked silver coin has been found, which is said to be anterior to the time of Alexander the Great and may be as old as 1000 B.C.³

It may be worth mentioning here that it is claimed that village Baratapura in the Darbhanga district is the site of the capital of the famous Rājā Birāt of the Mahābhārata. The same distinction is claimed for one or two villages of similar name in the Champaran district. But the Birātpura of the Mahābhārata lies, according to the *Birata Parva* of the Mahābhārata itself, in the Matsya

ततो द्वितीयदिने—“विमलेऽभ्युदिते सूर्ये तस्माद्देशात्पुनस्त्रिरे।
यत्र भागीरथौ गङ्गा यमुनामभिवर्तते ॥ ..
गत्वा सुहृन्मन्वानं भारद्वाजमुपागमत् ॥”

The famous Hindi poet, Tulasi Dasa who flourished in the 16th century A.D. also places the river Tamsa between Ayodhyā (Faizabad) and Prayāga (Allahabad) —cf. Tulasi's Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhya Kāṇḍa :

तमसा तीर निवास किय प्रथम दिवस रघुवीर ।

¹ Cf. the Brhad Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Mithilakhaṇḍa :—

गिरिजालयसारथ्य यावद्दे धनुष स्थिति ।

इति दुर्गस्य मर्यादा मिथिला सु महापुरी ॥

² Cf. Cunningham's 'History of India,' 1871, page 445.

³ Cf. pp. 104-13 of the report on the Archaeological Survey of India, 1880 ; also p. 70 of the Archaeological Survey Report, India, 1862-65, Vol. I.

The excavations at Lauriya Nandanagarh have led to the discovery of metal coffins containing skeletons of large human figures. Both Kesariya and Lauriya Nandanagarh must be ancient places as tradition relates that they were seats of Rājās Bena Cakravarty and Uttānapāda respectively. According to Purāṇa legends (Hindu mythology) Uttānapāda was son of Manu (the progenitor of mankind) and Bena was seventh in descent from him.

deśa,² and therefore the claim made for these places in Tirhut is untenable.¹

In this connection it may also be mentioned that in the Sabhā Parva of the Mahābhārata, it is stated that Bhīma went beyond the river Kauśikī (Kośī), but it is nowhere said in the Mahābhārata that he came across any place called Birātapura before crossing the river Kośī which is the easternmost boundary of Tirhut in the Purnea district.³ Had it been in Mithilā, it was sure to be mentioned in the Sabhā Parva of the Mahābhārata as it (Birātpura) is one of the most important places described in the Mahābhārata.

The village Jamuā or one or two villages of similar name in the Darbhanga district claim to have been the hermitage of Yamadagni, father of the famous Paraśurāma, of the Hindu mythology. In Mahābhārata, Śanti Parva, it is stated that Paraśurāma practised his austerities on the hill called Gandha Mādana.⁴ The account of Paraśurāma

¹ The Mahābhārata, Birāta Parva, 1st Adhyāya, Bombay :—

युधिष्ठिर उवाच ॥ श्रुतमेतन्महाबाहो यथा स भगवान्प्रभुः ॥ अश्ववीर्यं सर्वभूतेशस्तथा न
तदन्यथा ॥ अवशं लेव वासायै रमणीयं शिवं सुखम् ॥ संसृज्य सद्भिः सर्वैस्तत्त्वम कुतो भयैः ॥
मत्स्यो विराटो बलवान् भिरक्रोथ पाण्डवान् ॥ धर्मशौलो वदान्यश्च दृढश्च सततं प्रियः ॥ विराट-
नगरे तात संवत्सरमिमं वधम् । कुर्वतस्तस्य कीर्त्तणिं विद्वरिष्याम भारत ॥

The Matsya Deśa lay to the south of the Kurus and to the west of the Surasenas, i.e. to the south of Thanésvara and to the west of Mathurā. It is identified with the modern estate of Alwar in Rājaputānā and some adjacent districts (cf. Rapson's 'Ancient India,' p. 166, 1916); also cf. Mahābhārata, Birāt Parva, 5th Adhyāya :—

“उत्तरेण दशार्णखे पश्चात्पन्दक्षिणे न च ।

अन्तरेण य कञ्जीमान्धूरसेनोश्च पाण्डवाः ।

कुन्धा मुवाणा मत्स्यस्य विषयं प्राविशन्वनात् ।

धन्विनो वदन्ति स्मिंश्च विवर्णाः श्रुत्वा धारिणः ॥

General Cunningham locates Matsyadeśa in the vicinity of Jayapore and thinks its capital was Virat or Bairata about 105 miles from Delhi (to the south) cf. p. 206, Dowson's 'Hindu Classical Dictionary,' Trubner's Oriental Series.

² Mahābhārata (Sabhā Parva, 30th Adhyāya) describes the conquest of the Rājā of Videha (Mithilā) by Bhīma.

³ Cf. Mahābhārata Śanti Parva, 48th and 49th Adhyāyas, Bombay.

महाभा० शा० प० अ० ४८

कुचकेने युधिष्ठिरं प्रति कृष्णवाक्यम्

अभीरामश्च दाः पञ्च दृश्यन्ते पार्श्वदूरतः । तेषु सन्मर्षयामास पितृन् क्षत्रियशोणितैः ।

इत्येवं रामचरित उपक्रान्ते अ० ४९

even in the *Sahyadri Khanda* of the Skanda Purāṇa and other Purāṇas would place his original home near Mahiṣ-

जङ्गोरजस्तु तनथो वल्गाकाञ्चस्य तत्पुत्रः ।
 कुशिको नाम धर्मज्ञस्तस्य पुत्रोमहीपते ॥
 . . . गाधिर्नामा भवत्युचः कौशिकः पाकशासनः ।
 तस्य कन्या भवद्राजद्वान्ता सत्यवती प्रभो ॥
 तां गाधिर्भृगुपुत्राय सचीकाय ददौ प्रभुः ।
 तस्याः प्रीतः सशौचेन भार्गवः कुहनन्दन ।
 पुत्रार्थं प्रयामास चरं गाधेस्तथैव च ।
 . . . ततः सत्यवती पुत्रं जनयामास भार्गवम् ॥ .
 तपस्वभिरतं शान्तं यमदग्निं यतन्नतम् ।
 विश्वामित्रं च दायादं गाधिः कुशिकनन्दनः ।
 यः प्राप ब्रह्मसमितं विश्वैर्ब्रह्मगुरुर्युतम् ।
 . . . ऋचीको जनयामास यमदग्निं तपोनिधिम् ॥
 सोऽपि पुत्रं ह्यजनयज्जमदग्निं सुदारुणम् ।
 सर्वविद्यां गतं त्रेकं धनुर्वेदस्य पारगम् ॥
 रामं क्षत्रियसन्तारं प्रदीप्तमिव पावकम् ।
 तोषयित्वा महादेवं पर्वते गन्धमादने ॥
 श्वस्त्राणि वरयामास परशुं चातिवेजसम् ।
 . . . सतेभ्यःकुण्डभारेण ज्वलितानलवर्चसा ॥
 कुडारेण प्रमेयं लोकेऽवप्रतिमोऽभवत् ॥

This Gandha Mādana would appear from the Kālika Purāṇa to be in Assam near the river Brahma Putra :—

कालिकापुराणे लौहित्यभद्राख्याने ८५ अध्याय

शन्तनोर्मुनेरनोवायां भार्यायां ब्रह्मणी वीर्यस्य शन्तनुना आधाने कृते तस्या नासिका तोज-
 नासश्चयस्तन्मध्ये तनयश्चैकः समजनि ।

“तज्जातश्च तथाभूतं शन्तनुर्लोकशन्तनुः ।
 चतुर्णाभ्यर्षतानाञ्च मध्ये देशेन्यवीविशत् ॥
 कैलासश्चोत्तरपार्श्वे दक्षिणे गन्धमादनः ।
 जारुधिः पश्चिमेऽग्रेः पूर्वे च शम्भुकाकयः ॥
 तेषामध्ये स्वयं कुण्डं पर्वतानां विधेः सुतः ।
 हत्वातिवदधे नित्यं शरदौवनिशाकरः ॥
 तन्तोयमध्यगं पुत्रमासाद्य द्रुहिणः स्वयम् ।
 क्रमतस्तस्य संस्कारान् करोद्देहं शूद्रये ॥
 अथकाले बलतिथेय्यतौते ब्रह्मणः सुतः ।
 तीयराशिस्वरूपेण बृहदो पञ्चयोजनात् ।
 तस्मिन्देवाः पपुषस्तुर्द्वितीयं स्वसागरे ।
 सीतामल जलेऽहो दिव्यं सागरसांगणैः ॥
 तस्मिन्नवसरे रामो जामदग्न्यः प्रतापवान् ।
 चक्रो मातृवधं घोरमयुक्तं पितुराज्ञया ॥

mati which is somewhere near the river Narbadā in the Central Provinces.¹

तस्य पापस्य मोक्षाय स्वपितृसोपदेशतः ।
स जगाम महाकुण्डं ब्रह्मास्त्रं क्षातुमिच्छया ॥
तत्र स्नात्वा च पीत्वा च मादृशत्याम पानयत् ।
वीथीम्परगुना कृत्वा तन्मह्यम् तारयत् ॥

¹ Cf. page 140 of the 'Early History of the Dekkan,' by R. G. Bhandarkar, Bombay, 1895, where it is said that "Mahismati" was the capital of Mahārāṣṭra. Also cf. Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa Uttara Kāṇḍa, 31st Sarga, which locates Mahismati on "Narbadā" bank.

ततो महिष्मतीं नाम पुरीं स्वर्गपुरीप्रभाम् ।
संप्राप्तो युव सान्निध्यं सदा ऽसौदसुरेत सः ॥ ७ ॥
तुल्य आसीन्नृपस्य प्रभावाद्दसुरेत सः ।
अर्जुनो नाम यन्नाभिः शरकुण्डेशयः सदा ॥ ८ ॥
तमेव दिवसं सोय दैव्याधिपतिं वली ।
अर्जुनो नर्मदांरन्तु गतः स्त्रीभिः सचेष्टरः ॥ ९ ॥
तमेव दिवसं सोय रावणस्तत्र प्यागतः ।
रावणो राक्षसेन्द्रस्तु तस्यामात्यान् पृच्छत ॥ १० ॥

Cf. also the Brahmandā Purāṇa.

अथ कर्तवीर्यार्जुनस्य दैव्येश्वरस्य नर्मदा समीपे महिष्मत्यां निवासः । परशुरामस्यापि तत्र नर्मदातटे साहिष्मत्या अविदूरे आश्रमः तथा च ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे २६ अध्याये ।

“एवं पित्रोर्महाराज शुश्रूषा भृगुपुंगवः ।
प्रकुर्वन्सन्निधेयात्मा भ्रातॄणां चाविशेषतः ॥
यतस्मिन्नेव काले तु कदाचिदैव्येश्वरः ।
इयेषमृगयां गन्तुं चतुरङ्गं बलान्वितः ॥

सरञ्चमाने भगने बन्धूक कुसुमाक्षौ . . नर्मदातीरतीर्थन्तमवतीर्याद्यहारिणि । तत्तीरे—

छत मैत्रादिको राजा मृगयां दैव्येश्वरः ।
निर्ययौ भगवान्स्नातुरोद्धित समन्वितः ॥
पुनः मध्ये दिनकरे प्राप्ते ससैन्यः सतदा दृष्टः ।
नर्मदां घर्षसन्तप्तः पिपासुरगमच्छनैः ।
विसर्ज्य च तत्तीरे तदखण्डोपमण्डिते ।
आताम्य मानेतिग्मांशौ ससैन्यः सामुगो नृपः ॥
निश्चक्राम पुरं गन्तुं विन्ध्याद्रि वनगङ्गरात् ।
सगच्छन्नेव दृष्ट्वा नर्मदातीरमाश्रितम् ।
आश्रमं पुण्यशीलस्य जमदग्नेर्महात्मनः” इत्यादि ।

अथ तमाश्रमं प्राप्ते मुनिना सत्कृतो गृहं गन्तुमाज्ञाप्यार्थितवान् ॥ ततः सराजा सुप्रीतो जमदग्निमभाषत । महर्षदेहिनेमुष्ठां गमिष्यामि स्वकम्पूरम् इति ततो मुनिना जितिथि सत्कारं कातधेनु प्रभावास्तृप्त्वा प्रातर्गृहं गच्छन्मणिणा चन्द्रगुप्तेन तत्प्रभावकथनपूर्वकं हरणाय प्रोषोजितो राजा कथंस्वित्तमेवादिदेश । स तत्रा कुर्वन्मुनिं हतवान् । तेन प्रोधातुरो जानदग्नाः (परशुरामः निःशवासश्चैवमकरोदिति स्थितिः ॥

This would put Yamadagni Paraśurāma out of Mithilā, but we know the admitted fact that Paraśurāma suddenly turned up at the marriage of Rāma and Sita at Janakapura, and it is probable that Yamadagni and his son Paraśurāma founded a settlement somewhere in or near Mithilā. This would make the claim of these villages apparently tenable.

The village Ahiyari in the Darbhanga district justly claims the distinction of having been visited by Rāma on his way to Mithilā (Janakapura). It is related that at Ahiyari (or Ahilyapura) stood the hermitage of sage Gautama, whose jealous harshness had turned his wife Ahilya into stone and that Rāma miraculously restored her to human life.¹

The river Kosi or Kausiki which forms the easternmost boundary of Tirhut (as popularly and traditionally known) has its legendary accounts in Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata.

Sitamarhi in the Muzaffarpur district claims the distinction of having been the birth-place of Sita visited by Rāma.

Hajipur in the Muzaffarpur district claims distinction of having been the point at which Rāma crossed over from the southern side of river Ganges. According to Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa,² Rāma first crossed the river Sona and passed a day between the Sona and the Ganges before crossing the latter. The relative position of the Sona and the Ganges even at the present day would lend some colour to this claim for distinction.

¹ C/. pp.

² C/. pp.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

VAIS'ĀLĪ.

^aWe have seen that the Brhadāranyakopaniṣad, as well as the Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa abound with glorious accounts of the monarchical rulers of Mithilā with their capital at Janakapura. There is no mention of Vaiśālī in Brhadāranyakopaniṣad, but the Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa gives an account of its monarchical rulers specially of Sumati with whom Rāma stayed for a night after crossing the Ganges and before proceeding to Mithilā. The Pauranic accounts make Sumati the last of a line of 34 kings, amongst whom was Visala, the great king, who founded Vaiśālī. This would show that Vaiśālī existed as a kingdom before Rāma's time and was probably as old as the neighbouring kingdom of Mithilā which saw its foundation during the period of the Satapatha Brahman¹ or the Rg Veda. In the 6th century B.C. when Buddha lived, Vaiśālī was certainly (as we shall see) the seat of a most powerful oligarchical republic under the class or race of people among whom the most powerful clans (in the Buddhistic records) were the Vrijjians or the Licchāvis. There is no mention of any monarchical rulers of Mithilā in the Buddhistic records about Buddha's time. It may therefore be taken as a historical fact that the Vrijjian oligarchical republic replaced the old monarchical rule of Videha and Vaiśālī at an early period and that the seat of the central Government shifted from Janakapura in the Nepal Tarai to Vaiśālī (modern Basarha)¹ in the district

¹ J.R.A.S. 1902, pp. 267, 288 and also Dr. Bloch's excavation at Basarha, Archaeological Survey Annual Report, 1903-04, pp. 81 to 102.

Cf. also Rapson's 'Ancient India,' 1916, p. 169, *Vaiśālī—modern Basarha—* in the Hajipur Subdivision of Muzaffarpur district.

The ancient site is marked by a large mound of ruins and by a magnificent uninscribed pillar of Asoka, which is surmounted by the figure of a lion.

^aThis pillar is a monolith at village Kolwa locally known as Bhima Simha's Lāthī (club) supporting a lion carved in stone. It consists of a pillar, 24 feet high,

of Muzaffarpur) which came into prominence in the 6th century B.C.

It is probable that the Licchāvis of Vaiśālī were in occupation of Magadha before Bimbisāra of Magadh (south Bihar) (who is called "Seniya" or "Senāpati," i.e. Military Commander) started on his conquering career in the 6th century (B.C.) It is not known whose Senāpati he was before he became a king, but it is certain that he expelled the Licchāvis from Magadha and founded or consolidated his dynasty. One of the very ancient Buddhistic texts¹

on the top of which is a pedestal with the lion. The cylinder is in one piece, the height of the whole being about 30 feet. Its depth below ground must be very great, as some persons dug down several feet, but failed to reach the foundation. The stone is covered with names, many of them English and of these some date from 1793.

The identity of the lion pillar at Basarh with one of Asoka's pillars is sometimes doubted, but its style of structure and its proximity to the ruins identified with ancient Vaiśālī make it certain that it is an Asoka's pillar though it does not contain Asoka's usual inscription-edict.

As regards the location of ancient Vaiśālī itself, both General Cunningham and Mr. V. A. Smith have identified ancient Vaiśālī with the ruins at modern Basarh. But Dr. Hoey proposed Cherand in the Saran district to the west of river Gandak as the site of Vaiśālī. This is however untenable. It appears from an inscription appertaining to miniature paintings of two palm-leave manuscripts (तीरमुक्तौ वैशाली नारा = Tārā of Vaiśālī in Tirhut) published by M. Foucher and assigned to the 12th century A.D. that Vaiśālī lay in Tirhut. It is admitted that the district of Saran never formed part of Tirhut in the ancient times. We also know that Mahābira, the developer of Jainism, has been described in the ancient Jainese scriptures as Vaiśālīya, i.e. an inhabitant of Vaiśālī and it is also related there that his birth-place, Kundagam, lay in Videha (i.e. Tirhut). Cf. Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII, p. 10.

Now we know that the ruins at Basarh are popularly known as Rājā Viśāla's fort and one of the adjacent villages is called Kollua which may correspond to Kundagam or another form of it, Kallaga. The position of Basarh in relation to other places like Patna, etc., fits in exactly with the position of Vaiśālī in regard to Pataliputra and other localities. It is also remarkable that the ruins called Rājā Viśāla's garh which still preserve the name of Viśāla, the founder of Vaiśālī, agrees in its circumference of about 5000 ft. with the distance of 4 to 5 li which Hiuen Tshang gives as a circuit of the Vaiśālī palace. We have got here a lion pillar and Hiuen Tshang says that such a pillar was erected at Vaiśālī by Asoka though he puts down its height at about 50 ft. North of it are the ruins of a brick stupa, and to the south an ancient brick-faced tank, corresponding to Hiuen Tshang's stupa of Asoka and to the Markatahrada, or 'Monkey Tank' respectively. The distance of these from the fort is about 2 miles. It is true that Hiuen Tshang's account omits the distance, but we know at least so much that they lay to the north-west of the palace and that its distance exceeded one mile.

Several seals, etc., discovered at the Basarh ruins clearly mention Vaiśālī. Cf. pp. 82-123 of the Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1903-04.

The identity of Basarh with Vaiśālī is also helped by the name Bisārā of the revenue division (Pargana) within which Basarh lies. In the 'Ain-I-Akbari' Bisara or Basara is mentioned as a mahal included in Sarkar Hajipur, cf. 'Ain-I-Akbari' trans. by Jarret, Vol. II, p. 155 (1910).

As regards Janakapur its identity is settled by Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa where it is related that it lay to the north-east of Ahilyāsthana in the Darbhanga district.

¹ Cf. 'Sutta Nipata,' verses 38, 976, 977, 1011-3; also Bhandarkar's Carmichael Lectures, 1918.

speaks of Vaiśālī as Magadhapurā, i.e. capital of Magadha or South Bihar and describes the passage of the 16 disciples of the Brāhmaṇa Bavarin (who lived somewhere on the bank of the river Godāvarī in Southern India) whom he deputed to pay homage to Buddhā and who went through Vaiśālī (Magadhapurā) to Pāsāṇaka Chetiya where Buddhā then happened to be.

Vrijjians of Vaiśālī.

An account of the Vrijjians¹ of Vaiśālī² may not be out of place here.

The Vrijjians were divided into several confederate clans, of whom the Licchāvis³ came into collision with the mighty kingdom of Magadha. King Bimbisāra of Magadha married princess Chellana, daughter of King Cetaka of Vaiśālī (Cr. 530 B.C.).⁴ His son Ajāta Satru conquered Vaiśālī in 490 B.C. after defeating nine confederate Licchāvi and confederate Malla kings and became master of his maternal grandfather's kingdom. Thus king Ajātaśatru of Magadha whose capital was at Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna) which lay on the frontier of Magadha and on the bank of the river Ganges which divided the Licchāvi from the Magadha Kingdom, conquered Vaiśālī and occupied

¹ The Vrijjians consisted of 8 confederate clans, of whom the Licchavis of Vaiśālī and Videhas of Mithilā were most powerful, cf. Rhys Davids' 'Buddhist India,' p. 25.

² Vaiśālī was so called on account of Rājā Viśāla, cf. his account in the Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa or it may be that the word Vaiśālī is derived from the word "Viśāla" (Sanskrit) = big, large.

³ (i) V. A. Smith's 'Early History of India,' 3rd edition, special Chapter II, etc., etc.

(ii) Beal's 'Life of Hsien-Tsiang' (1914).

(iii) Rhys Davids' 'Ywan-chwang's Travels in India' (Royal Asiatic Society, 1914).

(iv) Legg's 'Travels of Fa-Hian in India' (Clarendon Press, 1866).

Todd in his 'Rājsthāna' (Part VII) gives an account of the Licchāvi family. He calls them of the solar race and on the ground of several inscriptions and ancient written literature found in Nepal about them, he thinks that they first established themselves in Nepal. He mentions certain Licchāvi Rājās who reigned in Nepal and Puspapura (Patna), as is borne out by an inscription in the temple of Paśupati at Kathmandu in Nepal, Cir. Srihara's Sambat 153 = Bikrama Samvat 1816 = 1756 A.D. or so; also cf. I. A. IX, 168; XIII, 411; XIV, 97 and 342; also J.R.A.S., LVIII, chart, p. 100.

It may be interesting to remember that Dandī in his Dasakumāra Caritam (Uttara, 3rd part) which is said to have been composed in the year 600 A.D. describes the intimate friendship between the then ruling princes and their queens of Mithilā and Pāṭaliputra (Magadha). As regards the date of Dasakumāra Caritam, cf. Macdonell's 'Sanskrit Literature' (1905), p. 332; also Duff's 'Chronology of India' (1899), p. 44.

⁴ 'Sacred Books of the East,' Vol. XXII, Introduction by Jacobi, p. 266.

Her name was Vasavi, niece of Gopal, according to a Tibetan account (Rock-hill's Life of Buddha, p. 63).

Tirhut. It appears that when Buddha visited Pātaliputra shortly before his death, Sunidha and Bassakara, Chief Ministers of Magadha, were busy in building a strong fortress there to repel the Licchāvis.¹

It is not known what happened to Vaiśālī after Ajātasatru (nicknamed Kunika). It is most probable that it continued to be ruled from Patna during the reigns of kings Candragupta and Aśoka of the Maurya dynasty during the fourth and the third centuries B.C.

The Licchāvis and Vrijjians are supposed to be of Tibetan origin.² They may be regarded as a ruling clan

¹ Cf. 'Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtras, I, 26, and 'Mahābhagga' VI, 28, 7.

² Cf. 'The Indian Antiquary,' p. 233, 1903.

This supposition rests on no sure grounds. Beal in his 'Buddhist records of Western World, Volume II,' 'Trubner's Oriental Series' has dealt with the subject at XIII (intro.) where he writes :—

"After a month and five days they, i.e. Fahian's party, reached Khotan. This country has been identified with Li-yul of the Tibetan writers. There is some reason for connecting this 'land of Li' with the Licchāvis of Vaiśālī. It is said by Csoma Korosi 'that the Tibetan writers derive their first king (about 250 B.C.) from the Lissabysis or Lichavyis'. The chief prince or ruler of the Licchavis was called the 'great lion' or 'the noble lion'. This is probably the explanation of Maha-li used by Spence Hardy as 'the name of the king of the Lichavis'. Khotan would thus be the land of the lion-people (Simhas). Whether this be so or not, the polished condition of the people and their religious zeal indicate close connection with India, more probably with Baktria. The name of the great temple, a mile or two to the west of the city, called the Nava Sargharama, or royal 'new temple', is the same as that on the south-west of Balkh described by Hiuen Tsiang; and the introduction of Vaisravana as the protector of this convent, and his connection with Khotan, the kings of that country being descended from him, indicate a relationship, if not race, at least of intercourse between the two kingdoms."

And again on page 70 he writes :—

"We may conclude that the people of Vaiśālī were a Northern people allied to the Yuechi, which illustrates the observation of Csoma Korosi, 'that Tibetan writers derive their first king about 250 B.C. from the Litsabyis or Licchavis' ('Manual of Buddhism,' p. 236, note). The Sakya family of Buddha is also said to belong to this tribe. (Memoirs by V. de St. Martin, p. 367, note.) The symbols used by the Chinese for the Yuechi and for the Vrijjis are the same. Unless we are to suppose a much earlier incursion of these people into India than is generally allowed, the date of the Southern books of Buddhism (the book of the Great Decease and others), which contain accounts respecting the character, habits, and dress of the Licchāvis (which correspond with the Northern accounts), must be brought down considerably later than the assumed date of the reduction of the Pālī canon. But, on the other hand, if it be true that the incursion of these people took place when Pātaliputra was strengthened as a fortified outpost to repel their advance, i.e. about the time of Buddha, then we must allow an early advance on their part into India. We know they were regarded as intruders, for Ajātasatru, king of Magadha, was desirous to attack and root out 'these Vrijjians,' and it was he also who strengthened the city of Pataliputra. The question deserves consideration."

It is hardly necessary to say more than that this argument is not convincing. It is admitted that the Buddhist priests from Magadha and Tirhuta (Licchāvis) went in large numbers to preach in Tibet during Asoka's time, and it may be supposed with equal force that they obtained not only spiritual ascendancy but some one of them assumed kingly authority in Tibet. The word "Li" (Chinese=

akin to the Kṣatriyas but their descendants are now all mixed up with the Tirhutians.

Vaiśālī was a big city made up of the three component parts of Vaiśālī (modern Basārha) inhabited chiefly by Brāhmaṇas, Kūṇḍagrama (modern Basukunḍa) inhabited chiefly by Kṣatriyas and Banikagrāma where Mahāvira Vardhamāna was born (modern Bania) inhabited by Vaiśyas.¹ These villages are now mostly inhabited by Bhūmihāra Brāhmaṇas. Vaiśālī enjoyed marvellous prosperity. A triple wall encompassed the city, each wall a league distant from the next and there were three gates with watch towers.²

Vaiśālī was an oligarchical republic governed by a senate, the membership of which was made up of the heads of the ruling clans the chief executive officer of each

Vaiśālī an oligarchical republic.

lion) found in common with some Northern people and the Licchavis does not carry matters far—for there is no explanation forthcoming of the remainder—Chav or it may be within the range of possibility that a section of the Licchāvis who occupied Nepal, moved on to Khotan.

Ajatsatru's onslaught of the Licchāvis does not help the theory for he attacked not only the Licchāvis but also the people of other parts of India, who were surely not intruders.

If the Licchāvis were of foreign Tibetan or Chinese origin there was sure to be some mention of this origin in the great Sanskrit Epics (Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata) and the Purāṇas especially as it is certain that they had established themselves at Vaiśālī long before Buddha's time, i.e. long before 500 B.C. Though the Licchāvis have been mentioned as Licāvis in the Manusamhitā (X-22) which is a Brahmanical text, and which is not assigned to an earlier period than the 1st century A.D., there is no mention of their foreign origin.

भक्षो भक्षश्च राजन्याद् ब्राह्म्या निष्क्रिविरिच च ।

नटश्च करणश्चैव खसो द्रविण्ड एव च ॥

They are described as quasi-Kṣatriyas (probably because they were Buddhists). V. A. Smith has contributed an interesting note—Indian Antiquary, 1903, p. 233—on Tibetan origin of the Licchāvis, but one may venture to think that his argument is as much in favour of the Tibetan origin of the Licchāvis as of the Licchāvi or Indian origin of some of the Tibetan tribes. He finds similarity between the Licchāvi and the Tibetan modes of disposal of dead bodies as well as between their systems of law. But if the Licchāvi Buddhists (who surely shared this custom with other people of India) could transplant their Buddhism in Tibet, is it too much to think that they could transplant some of their customs as well. It may be interesting to note that Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyābhūṣana gives the Licchāvis a Persian origin (cf. Ind. Antiquary, p. 78, 1908) and thinks that they migrated to Tirhut from Nisibis, a port in Persia, and that in course of time, their name "Nisibis" turned into "Licchāvi." But this is highly improbable as there is absolutely no record, Indian or foreign, of any Persian settlement especially as admittedly the Licchāvis were a highly civilised and long-settled and most powerful class in Tirhut in the 6th century B.C. when Nisibis came into existence.

¹ Cf. V. A. Smith on Vaiśālī, J.R.A.S., 1902, p. 267.

² Cf. Eka Panna Jataka, Buddha's Jatakas, Chambers, Vol. I, p. 316, 1895.

clan being called the Rājā or king. It is said that there were 7,707 such Rājās in the kingdom. Each Rājā was assisted by a viceroy, a general and a treasurer.¹

The Licchavis and Vrijjians, who were Kṣātriyās, were राज शब्दोप जीविनः गणराजानः i.e. they lived by the title of kings and were communal or republican heads unlike the Kam-bhojās and Śaurāstrās (Kṣātriyās),² who lived by agriculture, trade and wielding weapons (i.e. mercenary, tribal bands).

It is clear that all these 7,707 families were equals of one another in position, and it is stated that if quarrel broke out amongst the families, the heads of the families should not remain indifferent as the Gaṇa might otherwise be dissolved. But whether there were actually as many as 7,707 Licchāvi kings is by no means certain though their number must have been large enough. It seems as if each Licchāvi king (whom Kautilya calls "Rājā Subdopajivinah" called by the name or title of kings) had his own separate principality where he exercised independent powers in certain respects. Otherwise it is not clear why each Licchāvi king should have his own Uparājā (Viceroy), Senāpati (general) and Bhaṇḍagarikā (treasurer). But there is nothing on record to show in what respects they enjoyed individual powers and in what respects they exercised corporate powers.

The Licchāvis of Vaisālī and the Mallas of Kuśīna-

¹ Cf. Eka Paṇṇa Jātakas, Buddhas Jātaka, Chambers, Vol. I, p 315, 1896.

² Kautilya's 'Arthasāstra' translated by R. Śāma Śāstri, Bangalore, 1915. p. 455.

The idea is that every one of these was called or passed for a Rājā (king) (in relation to his own class or community) though he was not really a king (in relation to the whole or general community). Considerable controversy centres round the expression गणराजानः (Gaṇarājanah), but the plain meaning of the word 'Gaṇa' in Sanskrit is a body of followers, a group, a tribe or class, or an association of persons formed for the same object. Following the analogy of गणदेवता (Gaṇadevatāh), lit. groups of deities who generally appear in classes or troops (cf. Amara Kosa).

आदित्य विश्ववस वसुपिता भास्वरानिलाः ।

महाराजिकसाध्याश्च रुद्राश्च गणदेवताः ॥

गणराजानः (ganarajanah) would mean a group of rajas (kings) who worked together in a body. It follows that each individual Raja (king) was a king (absolute) only in relation to his own class, but was only a limb of the whole body of kings in relation to the affairs of the numerous classes or communities jointly

garam were ruled by the corporate heads of their families called Samghas or Gaṇas (=groups or clans). In the course of a discussion,¹ Buddha asked a Jaina monk named Sacchaka whether Pasonādi, king of Kośala or Ajātasatru, king of Magadha, had power to banish, burn, or destroy a man in his dominions. At the time of this discussion, some Licchāvis were present, and Sacchaka pointing to them said that if the Samghas and Gaṇas like the Licchāvis or Mallas exercised this power in their own kingdoms, certainly Ajātasatru and Pasonādi possessed this power. All the members of this Samgha or Gaṇa were called kings and their sons were designated as Licchāvi-Kumāras.

There was a special tank with the water of which the heads of the "Gaṇarājānaḥ" (the heads of the ruling families) were sprinkled while being crowned. This tank was covered² with an iron net so that not even a bird could get through and a strong guard was set to prevent any one taking water from it. This tank was called "Vaisāli nagara Gaṇa Rāja Kulānām abhiṣeka-maṅgala-pokkharāṇī."³ This shows that the political Samgha or group was called Gaṇa which consisted of various Rāja Kulas or royal families of the principal members or heads of which constituted the ruling class or Gaṇa. Thus it is clear that the real executive power was vested in the group of the heads of the ruling families and that no single member of the Gaṇa or group was by himself a Rājā or ruler in the proper sense of the word.

The Licchāvis had an excellent legal procedure and their law did not admit of the punishment of guilty persons unless the guilt was conclusively brought home to the accused,⁴ and they had their own codes called Paveni

Pramāṇo Pustaka.

Potthaka (Pramāṇa Pustak?) (based probably on precedents) to guide them

¹ Cf. the Majjhima Nikaya, I, 231.; also Bhandarkar's "Carmichael Lectures," 1918.

² Cf. Buddha Sāla Jātaka, IV, 1489 and 11, 21-2.

³ Cf. Buddha Ghosh's Commentary on the Parinibbana-suttam (Athakathā and Sumangala Vilasini). V. A. Smith (Cf. Indian Antiquary, 1903, p. 233) observes similarity between the judicial system of Vaisāli and that of Tibet. He has not, however, given full details, but if the account of the Criminal Procedure of Tibet as given by Sarat Chandra Dāsa (in the J.A.S., Bengal, 1895, p. 5) is correct, the similarity cannot hold good, inasmuch as in Tibet accused persons are subjected to all sorts of tortures as soon as they are arrested throughout the various stages before their formal conviction, whereas in Vaisāli, which was a republic, the accused was never maltreated before his conviction and was never convicted

in matters of civil usage. They disposed of their dead bodies either by cremation or by burial or by exposure.¹

It may be mentioned that Mithilā and in particular Vaisālī are closely associated with the names of Buddha (the founder of Buddhism) and of Mahābīra Vardhamān (the developer of Jainism) who were contemporaries. Mahābīra, or Vardhamān as he is generally called, was a native of Vaisālī and is therefore called the Vaisaliya or Nataputta (i.e. the son of the Nata, a clan of Kṣatriyas, who were settled at Kollage, a suburb of the town of Vaisālī). His father Siddhārtha was married to a daughter of Cetaka, the then governing king of Vaisālī and was thus closely related to King Bimbisara of Magadha. Their son Mahābīra was born in or about 599 B.C. He entered upon his spiritual career at the age of 30 and in his long, wandering life of 42 years, he gathered a considerable following of monks, known as the Nigranthas,²

unless he had passed through several officers, such as Vinischay Mahāmātra Vyavahārika, Sutrādharma (hearer of law-maxims), Asthā Kulika (officer over 8 Kulas or families), Śenāpati (General) Uparāja (Viceroy) and last of all the Rāja (King) who after consulting the "Paveni Poithaka" inflicted a suitable punishment.

J. V. A. Smith (Ind. Antiquary, 1903, pp. 233-4) thinks that this practice of exposure was borrowed from Tibet where it is prevalent. But it may be remarked that though the present day Hindus dispose of their dead bodies only by cremation or by burial (as in cases of Sanyāsīs and children) still it appears that this custom prevailed not only among the Licchavis but also at least among the people of Magadha.

Fahien, who visited Magadha in the 4th century A.D., writes:—

"North of the Vihara was the Smasānam which name means in Chinese the field of graves into which the dead bodies are thrown" (Legg's Translation of Fahien's Travels, Clarendon Press edition, 1886, p. 84).

Also it appears that in ancient days exposure of dead bodies was resorted to in several places in India (Rhys Davids' Buddhist India, p. 80).

Thus it may be taken that it was an indigenous Indian custom which has now mostly disappeared.

² In Sanskrit, Nirgrantha=without ties.

For the date of Mahābīra's death, cf. Burgess, Ind. Ant., II, 139, Weber Sacred Literature of the Jains, p. 133; also Barodia, History and Literature of the Jains, Bombay, 1909; Mrs. Sinclair-Stevenson, Notes on Modern Jainism, Blackwell, Oxford, 1910; Hoernle (Proceedings, A.S.B., 1898, pp. 39-53; also Hoernle, Ind. Ant. XX, 360; also *ibid*, ii, 363; ix, 158; xi, 245-246; xlii, 279; xxi, 57; and xxiii, 169, Jacobi, S.B.E., Vol. XXII, XLV, Introduction; also I.A., VIII, 30, and XV, 143; also J.R.A.S., Jan., 197, pp. 122-130.

Although the Digambara and Svetambara sects agree in placing the death of Mahāvīra 470 years before Vikrama, whose era begins in 58 B.C., the Digambaras reckon back from the birth and the Svetambaras from the accession of Vikrama. The records indicate that 551 or 543 or 527 B.C. may be regarded as the traditional date. Sthulabhadra, ninth successor of Mahāvīra, who was mantrin of the ninth Nanda, is said to have died either 215 or 219 years after the death of Mahāvīra, the same year in which Nanda was slain by Chandragupta. Puṣyamitra, who came to the throne, cir. 185 B.C., is placed in the period 323-53 after

or men who discarded all social bonds. They came to be known as Jains after Mahābīra's death about 527 B.C. The followers of Mahābīra from different parts of the country visited Vaiśālī where the Licchāvis used regularly to carry on discourses and disputations on high problems of life. The Jains are said to have been valiant disputants. Both men and women took part in the discourses, at the end of which some of them were united in wedlock on account of their agreement of views or as the outcome of mutual regard for their attainments.¹

It may, however, be remembered that such a religious toleration was sometimes absent at Vaiśālī where the followers of the one religion often decried the tenets of the other religion.²

The "Kalpa Śūtra" tells us that when Mahābīra died there was a splendid illumination³ at Vaiśālī which signified the enlightenment of human souls under Mahābīra's teachings.

Buddha was invited to Vaiśālī to deliver the people from a desolating pestilence. The
Buddha delivered
Vaiśālī from a pestilence.
miraculous coincidence of his arrival at Vaiśālī with the disappearance of the pestilence appears to have created a great impression and drawn a great number of disciples to Buddha. He left Vaiśālī after some time, but he visited it twice again and passed through it on his way to Kuśinagara (Cir. 487 B.C.)⁴ where he died.

Mahāvīra. Some Jaina traditions assign this event to 467 B.C., but this is at variance with the Buddhist tradition that Buddha died after Mahābīra.

¹ Cf. the Kulla Kalinga Jataka, Chambers' translation.

² Cf. the Mahābhāga, Chap. 6, Section 31.

³ It is a question if this had anything to do with the Hindu festival Dipāvalī which is observed by the Hindus as well as by the Jains.

⁴ That the death of Buddhā occurred about 487 B.C. is based on the following arguments:—

(i) Dr. Fleet at one time held 482 B.C. to be 'the most probable and satisfactory date that we are likely to obtain' (J.R.A.S., 1906; p. 667).

(ii) A tradition places Dharma Aśoka 250 years after the Nirvāṇa of Buddhā, and makes him contemporary with the Chinese Emperor, She-hwang-ti, the builder of the Great Wall, who came to the throne in 246 B.C., became 'universal emperor' in 221, and reigned until 210 (Sarat Candra Dāsa, J.A.S.B., Part I, 1886, pp. 193-203; and Rockhill, Life of the Buddhā, pp. 233, 237).

(iii) The 'dotted record' kept up at Canton until A.D. 489 showed 975 dots up to that year; $975 - 489 = 486$ (Takakusu, J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 51).

(iv) Paramārtha, author of the Life of Vasubandhu, places the teachers Vriṣhaḡana and Vindhya-vāsa, who flourished in the fifth century after Christ, as living in the tenth century after the Nirvāṇa ($487 + 413 = 900$).

Cf. also I.A. vi, 154; J.B.A.S., xxiii, 704; and C.A.S.R., iii, 126.

It may be interesting to mention that it was at Vaisālī that Buddha established the Order of Buddhist nuns¹ at the request of his cousin and disciple Ānanda and his widowed mother.

Buddha had great regard for the Licchāvis; when Ajātasatru, king of Pataliputra, sent his Minister to Buddha to take his advice as to his subduing the Licchāvis, Buddha² said:—

“So long as the Vajjians hold full and frequent assemblies, so long as they live in unity and concord, so long as they act according to their ancient institutions, without enacting anything new or abrogating anything already established, so long as they honour their elders, so long as no women or girls belonging to their class are detained among them by force or abduction, so long as they honour the Vajjian shrines and observe their ancient religious rites, so long as they support and protect the Arhats—so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper.”

¹ Cf. Vasali by V. A. Smith, J.B.A.S., iv, 1902, pp. 267-288.

² Cf. Maha Pari Nibbana Sutra, Chaps. 4 and 5.

Ajātasatru had no other alternative but to adopt the “divide and rule” policy to subjugate the Licchāvis of Vaisālī. The extract below from the translation of the Attha Kathā will be instructive.

“In order to dissolve the alliance of the Vajjians, the king and his minister hit upon a plan.” The minister, in the Council of Ajātasatru, shall say: “Let the Vajjians go on with their agricultural and commercial work,” and quit the council. Thereupon the king shall say: “What does the Brahmin mean by interdicting our discussions regarding the Vajjians?” The minister will send some tribute to the Vajjians and the king will bring a charge against the minister and cut off all his hair. Then as he is the person by whom the ramparts and ditches of the king’s capital were constructed and as he knows the strong and the weak, the high and the low parts of the king’s fortifications, he will tell the Vajjians that he will be able to remove any obstacles the king can lay. When this will be accepted by the Vajjians the king will say, “let them come.”

“The minister departed for Vaisālī, some did not want to receive him, others received him on the ground that he was so treated because he had advocated their cause and he, having been the Judicial Minister there, became so, also, at Vaisālī. Then he disunited them in the following manner. He once asked a Licchāvi prince mysteriously, “Do people plough land?” another prince who was there asked him what he said and did not believe the answer given and so they quarrelled with each other. Another time the minister asked a Licchāvi prince privately, in the presence of another, “With what curry did you eat your rice?” This also, in a similar manner brought about a dissension between the two. On another occasion, he said to a Licchāvi, “Are you a coward?” to another “Are you a beggar” for he said, that others had been calling them so. Thus in course of years the Licchāvis were entirely disunited. Then he requested the king to attack Vaisālī and he accordingly advanced with a large army. The tocsin of Vaisālī was sounded, but the people disregarded the call, saying, “Let the rich and the vallant assemble, we are beggars and cowards.” The Vajjians again and again beat the tocsin but every time without effect. Thus they were easily conquered by Ajātasatru.”

On another occasion, Buddha was invited and worshipped by a courtesan of Vaisālī named Ambapālī. The Licchāvis who disliked his taking meals there, wanted to take him to their own place, and Buddha¹ beholding them from some distance, said:—

“O brethren, let those of the brethren who have never seen the Tavatimsa gods, gaze upon this company of the Licchāvis, behold the company of the Licchāvis even as a company of the Tavatimsa gods.”

The Licchāvis on their part built a large number of monasteries and tanks for Buddha² and his followers. People from all parts of the country used to visit Vaisālī as a sacred place.³ Buddha used to engage in deep spiritual discussions with the Licchāvis who were a cultured people (as is borne out by several “Jātakas” and the “Dhammapada”) in the Kutāgāra hall (gabled hall) which the Licchāvis had among other buildings erected especially for the purpose of Buddha’s discourses.

The Licchāvis were thoroughly devoted to Buddha. When he passed Vaisālī on his way to Kuśīnāgaram for his Parinirvāṇa (i.e. to breathe his last), the Licchāvis of Vaisālī followed him and to send them back to their homes, Buddha is said to have presented his alms bowl to them, to have drawn upon his miraculous powers and to have made a mighty river appear between himself and the Licchāvis who were thus compelled to retrace their steps.

Keśariya in Champaran district is supposed to be the spot where Buddha took leave of the Licchāvis and where he presented his alms bowl to them. It is believed that they erected a stupa over the spot where the alms bowl was presented by Buddha.⁴

¹ Maha Parinibbana Sattam, Chap. 2.

There appears to have been an office conferred by the Vrijjian rulers on a female designated the “Nagara-sobhini-Thanatavan” which may signify “the chief beauty of the place.” Cf. J.A.S.B., Vol. VII, p. 992.

² Cf. S.B.E., Vol. XI, p. 24.

³ The wife of Bandhula, the Commander-in-Chief of Kośalā, when pregnant, said to her husband, “My lord, I desire to go to the tank in the city of Vaisālī to bathe in it and drink its sacred water, which is used by kings for ceremonial sprinkling at their coronation (Buddhasālā Jātaka, Vol. 4, p. 148).”

⁴ Cf. Beal’s Buddhistic Records of the Western World, p. LII.

Keśariya contains what is popularly called Rājā Bena Cakravarti’s deora (stupa) surrounded by a sheet of water known as Rājā Bena’s digha. Rājā Bena is said to have been a Buddhist Rājā (Cf. Troyer, in Rājā Taringini, I, 405). The ruins known locally as Rājā Bena’s ranivāsa was apparently a Buddhist monastery.

We are told that Buddha rode from his father's house on his favourite white steed Kanthaka accompanied by his charioteer Candaka and after crossing the river Anoma, bade him return with the horse and assumed the garb of an ascetic. It is believed that the village Bihar in the district of Champaran marks the traditional site of Candaka's return and in any case, the name shows that there existed a Buddhist monastery at this place.¹ Buddha is said to have again passed through Champaran on his way from Vaisali to Kusinagara. Lauriya-Nandanagarha (in Champaran in Tirhut) is believed by some to be the site where the "Ashes Stupa" was erected over the ashes taken from Buddha's funeral pyre.²

At Buddha's death, the Licchavis are said to have destroyed all the heretical books to show their firm devotion to Buddha's creed.³ They obtained from the Mallas (a *quasi*-Kṣatriya class of Kusinagara) an eighth part of Buddha's relics on the ground that they were Kṣatriyas like Buddha and erected a monument over the relics at Vaisali.⁴

It may be mentioned that long after Buddha's death Vaisali continued to enjoy its influence in Tirhut. There were stupas containing relics of Buddha and Ananda's bodies. It was full of sacred spots and was at one time considered so sacred that the 2nd great Council of the Buddhist church was held here (Cir. 377 B.C.)⁵ to settle a

Sacred character of
Vaisali.

Fahian visited this spot and regarded it as the place where the parting between Buddha and the Licchavis took place. Hiuen-tsang found the place deserted and identified it with the place where Buddha had reigned as a Cakravarti (i.e. an all India King) in a previous birth (Cf. Report on the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XVI, North and South Bihar). It is probable that the stupa at Kesariya is the same as was erected by the Licchavis on the spot where they were presented by Buddha with the alms bowl.

Is it probable that the rivulet Mekhawa (N.E. of Kesaria) or Baya (S.W. of Kesaria) represents the stream which Buddha is said to have made to appear before the Licchavis.

¹ Bihar or Vihara in Pali=Monastery.

² Cf. V. A. Smith's Article on Kusinara or Kusinagara in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1902.

³ Cf. Ashwa Ghosh's life of Buddha, Eng. Translations, p. 276.

⁴ Cf. Ashwa Ghosh's life of Buddha, Fo-sho-ning tsam-king, pp. 328-9; also Beal's Buddhist records of the Western World, Vol. II, p. 41.

⁵ According to Ceylonese tradition, it was held 118 years before Asoka's Coronation.—Cf. p. 7, Chronology of India, by C. M. Duff, 1899; also pp. 103-109 of Kerr's Manual of Indian Buddhism, and also p. LIV of Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II.

dispute between the strict and the lax sections of the Buddhist church. It is said that the council was attended by more than 700 monks and resulted eventually in the establishment of a strict order of discipline.

Vaisālī lay on the road between Pātaliputra and Nepāl and was visited by Āśoka (Cir. 250 B.C.)¹ who erected a lion pillar there, though he is said to have removed off the sacred relics of Buddha. Nepal was at this time an integral part of the empire and was probably administered directly from the capital Pātaliputra (Patna) as one of the home provinces. The royal road to it from Pātaliputra appears to have led first to Vaisālī and then passed Kesariya, Lauriya-Ararāja, Bettiah, Lauriya-Nandanagarha, Jānki-garha and Rāmapurvā (where also there is a pillar near Pipariya not far from Sīkārāpura in the Champaran district) entering the hills by the Bhikhna Thori pass.

The royal road between Pātaliputra and Vaisālī. The route taken by Buddha on his way to the place of his death and is marked by a lion pillar at Vaisālī (Basārhin, Muzaffarpur district), by a stupa at Kesariya and by the pillars² of Lauriya-Ararāja near Govindaganj, Lauriya-Nandanagarha (15 miles north of Bettiah), and Rāmpurva (near Pipariya) in the Champaran district.

It is not known what happened to Vaisālī after Asoka, but it is said that it was from Vaisālī that Kaniska, the Kusāna king, carried off to Gandhara, the famous alms bowl of Buddha about or in the first century A.D.³ Thereupon

¹ Cf. Oldfield's Sketches from Nepal II, pp. 198 and 246-52; also Indian Antiquary, XIII, 412; also Levi, Le Nepal, Vol. I, pp. 263-331 and Vol. II, pp. 1-3, 344.

² Cf. pp. 64-74 of Report on the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. I, 1862-65. Also Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. I, for 1880, pp. 104-113.

The Lauriya-Nandanagarha and Ararāja pillars bear the usual edicts of Asoka. The lion pillar at Lauriya is, however, damaged in the mouth and bears the inscription "Muhiuddin-Mahammad Aurangzib Badshah Alamgir Ghazisanz, 1071 (=1661 A.D.). The Rampurva pillar is much damaged.

³ Report on Arch. Survey of India, Vol. XVI, pages 8-11; also Vaissilief's translations from Tārānāth. Fahien found this alms bowl in the 4th century A.D. in Gandhar; Cf. pp. 19-20, Giles' records of Buddhistic kingdoms.

Also Cf. J.R.A.S., July, 1913, pp. 627-650;

Jan.	1914	79-88
April	"	369-382.
"	"	403-410.
July	"	748-751.
Jan.,	1915,	95-108.

we find that a local Rājā at or near Pātaliputra, bearing the famous name of Candragupta wedded, in or about the year 308 A.D., a princess named Kumārā Devī, who belonged to the ancient Licchāvi clan. During the long

The Licchavis help Chandragupta II to be a king, 308 A.D.

period of about eight centuries which intervened between the reign of Ajātasatru and the marriage of Kumārā Devī, the history of the Licchāvis has been lost for the most part, although they are known to have established a dynasty in Nepal, which used an era believed to run from A.D. 111.¹ They now come suddenly into notice again in connexion with this marriage, which proved to be an event of the highest political importance, as being the foundation of the fortunes of a dynasty destined to rival the glories of the Mauryas. Kumārā Devī evidently brought to her husband as her dowry valuable influence, which in the course of a few years secured to him a paramount position in Magadha and the neighbouring countries. It seems probable that at the time of this fateful union, the Licchāvis² were masters of the ancient imperial city, and that Candra Gupta, by means of his matrimonial alliance, succeeded to the power previously held by his wife's relatives. In the older days the Licchāvis of Vaisālī had been the rivals of the kings of Pātliputra, and apparently during the disturbed times which followed the reign of Pusyamitra, they paid off old scores by taking possession of the city, which had been built and fortified many centuries earlier for the express purpose of curbing their restless spirit.

Candra Gupta was raised by his Licchāvi connexion from the rank of a local chief, as enjoyed by his father and grandfather,³ to such dignity, that he felt justified in

¹ The names of the Candraguptas of the Gupta dynasty are spelt with a hyphen, to distinguish them from the Maurya (Levi, *Le Nepal*, I, 14; II, 153.)

² It is related in the "Mahāvansa" and the "Malankāra Vatthis" that there was a Licchāvi Rājā "Sisunaga" who removed his capital from Rajagṛha (in Magadha) to Vaisālī (in Tīrhut).

³ Cf. A.S.A.R., 1903-04; V. A. Smith's 'Revised Chronology of the early or imperial Gupta dynasty,' *Ind. Ant.* 1902, p. 257; V. A. Smith's Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, p. 95; Fleet's notes in *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 342; Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions' in 'Corpus Inscriptions, Ind.' vol. III; also V. A. Smith's 'The Conquest of Samudragupta' in *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, p. 859; and *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 176.

Also the analogical account of king Udayana of Kausambi (in 'Kathā Sarita Sāgara') who was son of Satanik, grandson of Sahasranika, belonged to the Bhārata family and was called valdehiputra, i.e. son of the princess of Videha or Mithila.

assuming the lofty title of "Sovereign of Mahārājas" usually associated with a claim to the rank of lord paramount. He struck coins in the joint names of himself, his queen, and the Licchāvis and his son and successor habitually described himself with pride as the son of the daughter of the Licchāvis.

Candragupta selected (about A.D. 330) as his *successor* the Crown Prince, Samudragupta, his son by the Licchāvi princess.

The excavations at Basārha have unearthed materials which disclose important information relating to Basārha in the 5th century A.D. Official seals, found at the excavations, were probably impressed on letters addressed by the Central Government at Pātliputra to the officers at Vaisālī. Some of these officers are described as being in charge of Trbhukti (ब्रह्मकृति). Other seals attached to letters sent by merchants and bankers point to the large commercial transactions conducted in those days. There have been found seals of mercantile and banking guilds and it may not be unreasonable to suppose that there existed a chamber of commerce even in those days. Various officers were named as Governor, Military Commander, Police Commander, Chief of the War Office Treasury, the Commander of the City, the Chief of the State Ministers. All this shows a highly developed form of government. It is remarkable that no symbol of Buddhism is to be found among the emblems on seals unearthed at Basārha. The evidence of the emblems on the seals, so far as they have any connection with religious worship, together with the names occurring in the inscriptions and the seals bearing benedictory formulas, rather lead one to conclude that most of the persons to whom the seals belonged, were followers of the Brahminical creed or Jains, or both.¹

¹ Cf. Report on the Archæological Survey of India, 1903-4, pp. 8-11.

CHAPTER II.

CHINESE TRAVELLERS IN TIRHUT.

500 A.D. to 650 A.D.

The Chinese traveller Fa-Hien, who came to India at the beginning of the 5th century A.D., came to see the site of Candaka's return and returned to Vaisālī (modern Basārha in the district of Muzaffarpur) after doing homage to the "Ashes Stupa" at Kusinagara.

Fa-Hien writes :—

"It was by the side of the 'Weapons laid down' tope at Baisālī that Buddha, having given up the idea of living longer said to Ananda, 'In three months from this I will attain to pari-nirvāna,' and Māra¹ had so fascinated and stupefied Ananda, that he was not able to ask Buddha to remain longer in this world."

¹-Hien's account of Baisālī, 5th century A.D.

"When Ananda was going from Magadha² to Vaisālī, wishing his pari-nirvāna to take place (there), the devas informed king Ajātasatru³ of it, and the king immediately pursued him in his own grand carriage, with a body of soldiers, and had reached the river. (On the other hand), the Licchavis of Baisālī had heard that Ananda was coming to their city), and they on their part came to meet him.

¹ The king of demons. The name Mara is explained by 'the murderer,' 'the destroyer of virtue,' and similar appellations. 'He is,' says Eitel, 'the personification of lust, the god of love, sin and death, the arch-enemy of goodness, residing in the heaven Paranirmita vasavartin on the top of the Kāmadhātu. He assumes different forms especially monstrous ones, to tempt or frighten the saints, or seduce his daughters, or inspires wicked men like Devadatta or the Nigranthas to do his work. He is often represented with 100 arms, and riding on an elephant.' The oldest form of this paragraph is in 'Buddhist Suttas,' Sacred Books of the East, Vol. xi, pp. 41-55, where Buddha says that, if Ananda had asked him thrice he would have postponed his death.

² Magadha was for some time the headquarters of Buddhism; the holy land covered with Vihāras, a fact perpetuated, as has been observed in the name of the present Behar, the southern portion of which corresponds to the ancient kingdom of Magadha.

³ In Singhalese Ajāsāt. Cf. the account of his conversion in Mahavamsam of Ceylon (translated by Greiger, J. Pali Text Society, 1912), pp. 321-326. He was the son of the King Bimbisāra, who was one of the first royal converts to Buddhism. Ajāsāt murdered his father or at least wrought his death; and was at first opposed to Sakyamuni (Buddha). When converted, he became famous for his liberality and almsgiving.

(In this way), they all arrived together at the river, and Ananda considered that if he went forward, King Ajātsatru would be very angry, while if he went back, Licchavis would resent his conduct. He thereupon in the very middle of the river burnt his body in a fiery ecstasy of Samādhi,¹ and his pari-nirvana was attained. He divided his body (also) into two, (leaving) the half of it on each bank; so that each of the two kings got one-half as (sacred) relic, and took it back (to his own capital), and there raised a tope over it."²

Wang-Hiuen-Tse, a Chinese traveller, visited Baṣisālī twice in the 6th century A.D. and in his second visit offered robes to Buddhist monks.³

Sung-Yun, another Chinese traveller, who came to India in the 6th century, mentions the place of Candaka's return and speaks of 40 countries, extending from the frontier of Persia on the west to Khotan on the border of China on the east, the last one of which was Tieh-lo in the south, as being in possession of a people of Hun. It is sometimes thought that Tieh-lo represented modern Tirhut.

Hiuen Tsiang, the famous Chinese traveller, came to Tirhut in the 7th century A.D. about the year 635. He visited the site of Candaka's return, which, he writes

¹ Eitel has a long article on the meaning of Samādhi, which is one of the sections of wisdom (bodhyanga), Hardy defines it as meaning 'perfect tranquillity, as meditative abstraction; Burnouf, as self-control and Edkins, as reverse.' 'Samādhi,' says Eitel, 'signifies the highest pitch of abstract, ecstatic, raptation; a state of absolute indifference to all influences from within or without; state of torpor of both the material and spiritual forces of vitality; a sort of terrestrial nirvana, consistently culminating in the total destruction of life.' He then quotes apparently the language of the text. 'He consumed his body by Agni (the fire) of Samādhi,' and says it is 'a common expression for the effects of such ecstatic ultra-mystic self-annihilation.' All this is simply 'a darkening of counsel by words without knowledge.' Some facts concerning the death of Ananda are hidden beneath the darkness of the phraseology, which it is impossible now to ascertain. Samādhi he burns his body in the very middle of the river, and then he divides the relic of the burnt body into two parts (for so evidently Fa-Hien intended his narration to be taken), and leaves one-half on each bank. The account of Ananda's death in Nien-chang's 'History of Buddha and the Patriarchs' is much more extravagant. Crowds of men and devas are brought together to witness it. The body is divided into four parts. One is conveyed to the Tusita heaven, second to the place of a certain Nāga king, a third is given to Ajātasatru, and the fourth to the Licchavis. What it all really means is difficult to say.

² Pages 74 to 77 of 'A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, being an account of the Chinese Monk Fa-Hien of his travels in India and Ceylon (399-414 A.D.)' by James Legge, M.A., LL.D., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1886 edition.

³ Cf. Ind. Ant., 1911, p. 111; also Beal's Si-yuki, i, Introduction XV.

formed part of the kingdom of Rama, a kingdom which was desolate and uninhabited. A great stupa built by Asoka in a dense forest marked the site of Candaka's return.

Hiuen Tsiang's account
of Tirhut, 7th century A.D.

From this place the traveller went to the stupa built over Buddha's ashes; which he passed on his way to Kuśinagar, through a great and dangerous forest, full of robbers, elephants, etc. It is now taken as a settled fact that at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, Tirhut formed a part of the empire of Harṣavardhan Silāditya of Kanauj.¹ He died in 648 and his minister, Arjuna, usurped the throne and attacked a mission which was on its way from the Chinese emperor.²

¹ Rhys David's *Travel of Ywan Chwang*, Vol. II, pages 63-80.

² During his lifetime, King Harṣa maintained diplomatic intercourse with the Chinese empire. A Brahmana envoy, whom he had sent to the emperor of China in 641, returned in 643 A.D. accompanied by a Chinese mission bearing a reply to Harṣa's despatch. The mission remained for a considerable time in India, and did not go back to China until 645 A.D. The next year Wang-hiuen-tse, who had been the second-in-command of the earlier embassy, was sent by his sovereign as head of a new Indian Mission, with an escort of thirty horsemen. Before the envoys reached Magadha in 648 A.D. King Harṣa had died, and the withdrawal of his strong-arm had plunged the country into disorder, which was aggravated by famine.

Aryuna, or Arunasva, a minister of the late king usurped the throne and gave a hostile reception to the Chinese mission. The members of the escort were massacred, and the property of the Mission plundered but the envoys, Wang-hiuen-tse and his colleague, were fortunate enough to escape into Nepal by night.

The reigning king of Tibet, the famous Srong-tsan Gampo, who was married to a Chinese princess, succoured the fugitives, and supplied them with a force of a thousand horsemen, which co-operated with a Nepalese contingent of seven thousand men. With this small army Wang-hiuen-tse descended into the plains, and, after a three days' siege, succeeded in storming the chief city of Tirhut. Three thousand of the garrison were beheaded, and ten thousand persons were drowned in the neighbouring river(?) Aryuna fled and having collected a fresh force, offered battle. He was again disastrously defeated and taken prisoner. The victor promptly beheaded a thousand prisoners, and in a later action captured the entire royal family, took twelve thousand prisoners and obtained thirty thousand head of cattle. Five hundred and eighty walled towns made their submission; and Kumara, the king of Eastern India, who had attended Harṣa's assemblies a few years earlier, sent in abundant supplies of cattle, horses and accoutrements for the victorious army. Wang-hiuen-tse brought the usurper as a prisoner to China, and was promoted for his services. Cf. Lt. Col. Waddell's *Tibetan Invasions of India in 647 A.D. and its results* (A.S.B. Review, Jan., 1911, as well as his *Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 1895, pp. 20-41); Sarat Chandra Dasa (J.A.S.B., Vol. I, Part I, 1881, pp. 217-22); Sir. M. A. Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, 1907; Watlers' *Work on Ywan Chwang*, i, ii.

It will thus appear that both Nepal and Tirhut came under the Tibetan sway after this event. Mr. P. Silvain Levi conjectured that in the year A.D. 879 the epoch of the Nepalese era might possibly mark the time when Nepal threw off its allegiance to Tirhut (Le-Nepal, Vol. II, 1905, page 182). But it appears from Chinese sources that Tibetan rule in Tirhut lasted only for about half a century from A.D. 648-703, the date when Nepal also recovered its independence, as determined by Mr. E. H. Parker from the histories of T'ang dynasty of China. "In the year 703 it is recorded that both Nepal and India threw off Tibetan suzerainty, and that the then king of Tibet perished during his personal conduct of the punitive expedition that he had

Hiuen Tsiang¹ writes that the kingdom of Vaisāli was about 1,000 miles (5,000 Li) in circuit and that it abounded in fruits, flowers, mangoes and plantains and all sorts of riches. The land was fertile and was blessed with a temperate climate. The people were fond of learning and religious pursuits.

It is said that the Vrijjian kingdom (to the north-east of Vaisāli) of which the capital was Chansuna (Janakapura) which was in ruins, was about 300 miles (4,000 Li) in circuit and that the inhabitants had mostly discarded Buddhism.

According to Hiuen Tsiang, Vaisāli was about 12 miles in circuit and was inhabited by Jains, Hindus and Buddhists, the last of whom were practically the least important from a numerical point of view. The city was in an advanced state of ruin and all traces of the Buddhist gardens and monasteries except three or four containing a few monks had disappeared. The Jains were numerous and the Brahmanical Hindus worshipped at a score of shrines.²

It seems probable that at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, Vaisāli or Tirhut formed part of the empire of King Harṣa who ruled over Northern India between 606 and 648 A.D.³ Vaisāli is said to have been the only great city in the territories of the free clans who formed so impor-

organized against them." (*The Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society*, 1911, pp. 129-52. Also an article by Mr V. A. Smith, pp. 555-56, Vol. III, part IV, of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, December 1917.)

¹ Cf. Rhys David's "Travel of Yuan Chwang (Vol. II), pp. 63-80, and also S. Beal's "Life of Hiuen Tsiang (1914).

Hiuen Tsiang states that Buddha told Anāthapindika that there were hidden treasures at Paṇḍuka (in Mithila), Pingala (in Kalinga), Sankha (in Kasi) and Bḷ Patra (in Gandhar). These treasures will be revealed when Maitreya attains Buddhahood and would never experience diminution when drawn upon. But what it means it is not easy to understand.

² Cf. Dr. Bloch's Report Arch. Surv. Ind., 1903-4.

Dr. Bloch writes, "Turning to the emblems on the seals, the first thing that strikes one is the total absence of any symbol of Buddhism. * * * The evidence of the emblems on the seals, so far as they have any connection with religious worship together with the names occurring in the inscriptions and the seals bearing benedictory formulas, rather led me to conclude that most of the persons to whom the seals belonged were followers of the Brahmanical creed of the Jains, or both. There is, however, proof that Buddhists remained there probably until the conquest of the country by the Muhammadans, in the Buddhist images recently found among its ruins which belong to the end of Buddhist history in India."

³ Cf. pp. 173-180 of *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, by S. Beal. Also cf. pp. 210-224 of *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Beal.

tant a factor in the social and political life of the 6th century¹ A.D.

Another Chinese traveller who visited Mithilā and Vaisālī was It-sing whose record is valuable as showing the actual practice of Buddhism in the 7th century A.D.²

Nothing can be said as to what happened to Vaisālī or to the Vrijjian kingdom after the destruction of king Harṣa's empire.

¹ Cf. Buddhist India, p. 40 by Rys David

² Cf. It Sing's record of Buddhist religion in India translated by Dr. J. Takakusu, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1896

PART III.

CHAPTER I.

TIRHUT FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE 7TH TO THE MIDDLE OF THE 13th CENTURY A.D.

Nothing definite is known of Tirhut after king Harṣa's death for about 200 years, except as we have already said, that soon after king Harṣa's death (648 A.D.) his minister Aryuna usurped the throne and gave a hostile reception to a Chinese mission which was on its way to King Harṣa's Court. The then *King of Tibet*—Strong-tsan-Gampo, who was related to the Chinese Emperor, succoured the surviving members of the mission who had fled into Nepal and *Tibet* defeated Aryuna, occupied Nepal and Tirhut, and held them under his sway up to the beginning of the 8th century A.D.¹

Towards the middle of the 9th century A.D., it is probable that Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty in Bengal, exercised some influence over Tirhut.² It is not known how long and how far his influence extended. But it appears that at the beginning of the 10th century A.D. Vasovarman³ Chandella is represented as warring against the Maithilas, Gaudas (Bengalis) and Chedis and at the beginning of the 11th century A.D., the Pālas were superseded by the Chedis of central India, who, owing to an upheaval or commotion in the country, made dash northwards and occupied Tirhut among other tracts. The Carnatics (Nānyupa's family)⁴ seem to have come to

¹ Cf. an account of this episode.

² Cf. E. I, i, 122 ff.; and C.A.S.R. ii, 451.

³ Cf. J.B.A. iv, 123, IA. vii, 91; ix, 188; xiii, 414.

⁴ The occupation of Mithila by the Chedis may appear strange at the first sight, but Puranic records place Magadha under them during the time of the Mahabharata. Thus the Ādi Parva of the Mahabharata (cir. 500 B.C.) ch. 63, verses 29-38, state that Vasū, the rājāh of Chedi, had five sons, each of whom founded a separate line of kings, one of whom was Brāhadratha who became ruler of Magadha (and father of Jārasandha) and that near his (Vasū's) capital was a river called Saktimati and a mountain called Kolahāl and that a daughter of the river Saktimati (produced by

Tirhut in alliance with the Chedis¹ and it is probable that they took advantage of their decline at the end of the 11th century A.D. to carve out a principality for themselves.²

Gaṅgeyadeva ruled in Tirhut in Samvat (Vikrama) 1076³ (=1019 A.D.) and may be identified with Gaṅgeyadeva Kalācuri⁴ of Chedi whom Alberuni mentions as a ruler of Dahala in 1030 A.D.⁵ Gaṅgeya is also known from some coins found in Gorkhapore.⁶ He is said to have died under the Banyan-tree at Allahabad in 1040 A.D. Both he and his son, Karna, who is said have reigned for 60 years, held Gauda (the then capital of Bengal under the Hindu kings) under their sway. Karna's son⁷ seems to have invaded and subdued Champaran. Thus there were at least three rulers of this Chedi dynasty who can account for about a century (Cir. 1000 to 1100 A.D.) in Tirhut.

It has been assumed that Rāmapāla of the Pāla dynasty

intercourse with mountain Kolāhal) was Grikī whom Vasu married. As a matter of fact, the Kauakol mountains, the river Sakri and Grikak (the name of a hill near Rajgriha in the Patna district, which may have been so called after an old branch of the river Sakri (traces of which still exist) which might have been called daughter of Saktimati) exist close together in south Bihar (Patna, Gaya and Monghyr districts) and it is probable that these names are corruptions of Kolahala, Saktimati and Grikā. It is equally probable that the southern part of the Kauakol range was called Saktimati from which (according to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa) issued the Rāghikulya (probably the river Kiul), Kumari (probably the river Kaurhail), and others including the Saktimati which was so called after the hill of its issue (following the analogy of Mekhalanaudini, etc.) It is not improbable that the Chedi kingdom extended from south Bihar to Jubbulpur, near which exists Tewar which possesses inscriptions showing (according to the identification by General Cunningham) to have been Tiipurā, a capital of the Chedi kingdom. If this hypothesis has any foundation in fact, it is remarkable that the Chedis again extended their sway to Magadha and Tirhut in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D.

¹ Cf. Simrāon dynasty, Chapter II.

² Cf. pp. 18-19 of "Bendall's History of Nepal and surrounding kingdoms which is a part of Catalogue of palmleaf manuscripts in the Nepal Durbar Library by H. P. Sastri; also Manuscript No. 1079 (p. 34 of the Catalogue) of the Rāmāyaṇa and particularly the Colophon at the end of the Kiskindhya Kāṇḍa:—

सम्वत् १०७६ आषाढ वदि ४ महाराजाधिराज पुष्पावलीक सोमवंशीक गोविन्दजीमद
गङ्गेयदेव भूज्यमान तीरभुक्तौ कल्याण विजयराज्ये नेपालदेशीय श्रीमञ्जुशालिक श्रीमानन्दास
पाठकावस्थित (कायस्थ) पण्डित श्री श्री श्रीकुरस्यात्मज श्रीगोपतिना लेखिदम् ।

³ Cf. Emp. India, II, 9, 11; *ibid.*, IX, 129. Also Cunningham, Reports, Vol^s IX, X, XX; *Fact J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 566.

⁴ Cf. p. 202, Alberuni's India, by E. C. Sachaw, Vol. I, 1910.

⁵ Cf. Rapson, Indian Coins (Grandrass, II, 3B), p. 35.

⁶ Cf. Ind. Ant. XVII, p. 215, and XVIII, p. 217, C.A.S.R., IX, 82; *Id.* J. II, 297; *ibid.*, II, 1093; also Vikramankacharitam, 18, 95, etc; also Bendall's History of Nepal and surrounding kingdoms, p. 15; also p. 19 of the Introduction, Memoirs R.A.S.B., Vol. III.

⁷ V. A. Smith's Early History of India, pp. 400 and 401.

conquered Mithilā from Rājā Bhima at the beginning of the 12th century A.D., but this assumption rests on no authority. Bhima was a Raja of the Kaibartās who acquired supremacy in Bengal including Varendra (Rāma Pāla's fatherland) and was defeated by Rāma Pāla. He is never known to have come to or to have acquired Mithilā.¹ In fact, it is not exactly known what influence the Palas exercised over Tirhut in 11th century A.D.

At or about the time of the death of Madanapāla, the last king of the Pāla dynasty, a Rājā named Bijaya Sena, whose capital was at Gauḍa in Bengal, founded a rival dynasty in Bengal commonly called that of the "Sena Kings," which wrested the Eastern Provinces from the hands of the Pāla Dynasty, the power of which was then much circumscribed.

There is no doubt that the Sena kings exercised considerable influence or ruled over Mithilā. The Sena rule in Mithilā is still commemorated by the use of the *Laṣkṛmāna*

Influence of the Sena
kings, 1119-20 A.D.

¹ Cf. "Rāmacaritam" by Samdhyaṅkara Nandī, edited by H. P. Sāstrī, Calc., 1910 (Memoirs of the R.A.S.B., Vol. III, pp. 1 to 56). This work can be interpreted in two ways either for "Rāma" (the hero of Rāmāyana) or for "Rāmapāla" of the Pāla Dynasty. The conquest of "Janakabhū" will therefore mean conquest of the land of Rāmpāl's father (i.e. Varendra) and not that of Mithilā or Tirhut.

Cf. also the 'Pala Kings' (Memoirs of the A.S.B., 1913).

A careful perusal of the two ślokas on which the assumption (that Rama Pāla conquered Mithila) seems to be based will show that he conquered his father's country, i.e. Varendra.

- १। माम् समुज्जिर्दशकेन जनक भूदस्युनोपधिव्रतिना ।
दिवाकयेन सीता वापलंछतिर (रा) चारि कान्तास्य ॥
२। इति हलाज्ञासागत्य चिताम् (ताता)भूमिं स जगन्वी विज भवेऽ ।
अचान्तकरः प्रथिताभिज्ञो ह च कथन्निथस्यथाभूतां दशम् ॥

The word 'Janakabhū' has been used in the same sense in the following śloka :—

- यस्योर्जस्वला-पौरुषस्य नृपतेः श्रीरामपादोऽभवत्
पुत्रः पालकुलाधिपतिरितः साम्राज्य विख्यातिभाक् ।
तेन येन जगवये जनकभू-लाभाद् यथावदसः
द्यौनी-नायक-भीम-रावत-वधाद्युद्धान्तवोद्धवभात् ॥

Cf. Vaidya-deva's Kamauli Tamrasasan (copperplate) 4th śloka—Gauramājā, pp. 129, 138.

As regards Bhima's supremacy in Varendra (and Bengal) cf.—

अन्यथा सा भूमिः अभिख्यायानाम्ना वरेन्द्रीचक्षुः सस्य दिव्योक्तस्य यो अनुजो वदोक्तः स
तदीय तन्मयस्य भीमनामः रग्ध्र प्रचारितः क्रियाचमस्य अलंकर्मीनस्य यथोक्त क्रमेण रक्षणीयाभूत् ।
स तच्च भूयति वर्तमानः ॥

Sena's Era,¹ the first current year of which corresponded with 1119-20 A.D. (513 H.) which was either the date of the coronation of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the great king of the Sena Dynasty or the date of his birth in which case it was started by his father Ballāla Sena.

But this Sena supremacy over Tirhut did not last after the close of the 12th century A.D. and both the "Pālas" and the "Senas" were swept away by the torrent of Muhammadan invasion at the end of the twelfth century, when Kutb-ud-din's general Muhammad, son of Bakhtiyar, stormed Bihar in (A.H. 589) 1193 A.D. and surprised Nudiah in the following year. The Musalman general who had already made his name a terror by repeated plundering expeditions in Bihar, seized the capital (Bihar) by a daring stroke. The almost contemporary historian met one of the survivors of the attacking party in 1243 A.D., and learnt from him that the fort of Bihar was seized by a party of only two hundred horsemen, who boldly rushed to the postern gate and gained possession of the place. Great quantities of plunder were obtained, and the slaughter of the shaven-headed Brāhmaṇas, that is to say, the Buddhist monks, was so complete, that when the victor sought for some one capable of explaining the contents of the books in the libraries of the monasteries, not a living man could be found who was able to read them. "It was discovered," we are told, "that the whole of that fortress and city was a college, and in the Hindi tongue they called a college Bihar."²

It may be mentioned here that of the early Muhammadan writers, Alberuni who wrote his work on India at Peshawar at the beginning of the 11th century A.D. has mentioned a place called Tilawat near the country of Nepal. It has, therefore, been said sometimes that Alberuni's Tilawat was meant for Tirhut which was known to him. But as it is certain³ that Alberuni never went

¹ Several theories have, from time to time, been advanced regarding the initiation of the Sena Era—for detailed account, cf. pp. 299-300 of Vol. I, History of Bengal (Bangala Itihāsa), by R. D. Banerji, 1st edition.

² Cf. Raverty's translation, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 552.

³ Cf. Preface to Alberuni's India by E. C. Sachau, Vol. I, 1st edition of 1910.

Alberuni writes, "Marching from Kanoj towards the east, you come to Bari, 10

beyond Peshawar, and as his description of the people of Tilawat does not apply to the people of Tirhut, it is doubtful whether his Tilawat was meant for Tirhut.

The Muhammadan rulers or conquerors of Bengal began to exercise some influence over Tirhut at the beginning of the 13th century A.D. In those days Lakhanāvati was the stronghold of Muhammadan influence in Bengal, and the 4th Mullick of Lakhanāvati, Sultan Hasmuddin, is said to have received tribute from Tirhut. But there is no detailed description of Tirhut. It is however said that the 9th Mullick Izuddin-Togril (1233 to 1244 A.D.) invaded Tirhut and carried away a large booty.¹

Gayasuddin, who was originally appointed the Muhammadan Governor of Bengal, overran Tirhut about the year 1225 A.D.

Al Badaoni writes :—

"Another was Mullick Husainu-d-Din,² one of the nobles of Khilji and Garmsir and one of the servants of Muhammad Bakhtiyar, who became possessed of the whole country of Tirhut and Bengala and Jajnagar and Kamrud and gained the title of Sultan Ghiyasu-d-Din, till in the months of the year 622 H. he sent to the Sultan Shamsu-d-Din Iyaltimish thirty-eight head of elephants and seventy thousand *tanqahs*³ in the cash as present and acknowledged the Sultan's authority, as will be mentioned, if God (he He exalted) so will it.⁴

"And in the year 622 H. Sultan Shamsu-d-Din, took an army towards Behar and Lakhnauti and brought Sultan Ghiyasu-d-Din Khilji, who has been before mentioned into obedience, and having accepted the presents above men-

farsakh; Dugum, 45 farsakh, the empire of Shilahat, 10 farsakh, the town of Bihar, 12 farsakh. Further on the country to the right is called Tilawat, the inhabitants Taru, people of very black colour and flat-nosed like the Turks. Thence you come to the mountains of Kamru, which stretch away as far as the sea. Opposite Tilawat the country to the left is the realm of Nepal" (cf. p. 201 of Alberuni's India by E. C. Sachau, Vol. I, 1st edition, 1910).

¹ Cf. Raverty's translation *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 587 and 737, etc.

² Cf. pp. 86 and 91 of Al-Badaoni's *Muntakhabu-T-Tawarikh* translated by Rankin, Vol. I, 1898 edition.

³ *Tanqah*. For the value of this cf. J.R.A.S. New Series, Vol. 1, p. 343, also Raverty 584, note 2, Thomas Chr. Pathan Kings of Delhi, p. 161 and p. 49 note.

⁴ "Thirty elephants and eighty *lahs* of treasure" (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*).

tioned established the *Khutba* and *Sikka* in his own name¹ and having given his elder son the title of Sultan Nasiru-d-Din Mahmud made him his heir, and having made over that country to him returned to the metropolis of Delhi. Eventually Malik Nasiru-d-Din Mahmud having fought with Ghiyasu-d-Din on the confines of Lakhnauti got the upper hand, and having taken him prisoner, put him to death, great booty fell into his hands which he divided into portions and sent as reward to each of the nobles of Delhi."

But it is not certain that he established any lasting supremacy in the country. About the middle or before the middle of the 13th century, it appears that a Hindu dynasty was founded at Simraon in the Champaran district, and it held its sway over Mithilā and Tirhut for about a century.

CHAPTER II.

THE SIMRĀON DYNASTY.

A short description of the Simrāon dynasty may not be out of place here.²

The capital of the Simrāon dynasty was Sivarāmpura (modern Simrāon), a village situated just beyond the north-eastern boundary of Champaran in the Nepalese territory. It contains an extensive mud fortress now in ruins.³ This dynasty is said to have lasted from about 1100 A.D. to 1324 A.D.

The founder of the Simrāon dynasty was one Nānya or Nānyupa Deva who is said to have come from Karnāta in Southern India, to have established himself at Simrāon, to have subdued the whole Mithilā, and to have overcome the king of Nepal.

¹ Cf. Thomas' Pathan Kings, p. 46. It is not said here what kind of coinage. Thomas puts the year 626 A.H. as the first of the silver coinage.

² Cf. J.A.S.B., Vol. LXXII, Part 1, 1903. Also Vol. XI, Nos X and XI, November, December, 1915.

³ Report on Arch. Survey of India, Vol. XVI, pp. 1-11. Also the introductory verses of Candewara's Kṛty ratnākara.

It is not exactly known how these Karnatics from Southern India found their way into Mithilā and Nepal. But it appears from Ksemesvara's Chandra Kauśika¹ that Rājā Mahipāla of the Karnāta dynasty defeated Karnatic Rājā who had invaded Bengal. But it is not certain who these Karnatics were and whether they had any connection with the family of Nānya Deva who established his principality in Mithilā² and Nepal.³ It is probable, however, that this Nānya Deva was a contemporary of Bijaya Sena of the Sena dynasty of Bengal.

According to Vidyāpati's Bhū-parikrama* (Purusa-pariksā) his (i.e. Nanyupa Deva's) son Malladeva took service under Jayacandra, king of Kanyakubja (Kanauj). As Jayacandra is known to have flourished in the 2nd half of the 12th century, Nanyadeva⁵ may be assigned to the

¹ Also p. 253, Hunter's statistical account, Bengal, Tirhut and Champaran, 1877.

यः संश्रित्य प्रकृति गङ्गनामाय्या चाणक्यनीति
चलानन्दान् कुसुमनगरं चन्द्रगुप्तो जिगाथ ।
कर्णाटलं भुवमुपगतानल तानेव चन्तु
दादौपीथ स पुनरभवत् श्रीमन्नीपालदेवः ॥

Cf. p. 223, vol. I of the History of Bengal (Bangala Itihāsa) by R. D. Banerji.

² Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, p. 188; Vol. XIII, p. 418.

³ Bendall's Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript in the University Library, Cambridge, p. XV. The different genealogical trees of the family given by Pische Wright and Jayapratap's inscriptions differ considerably.

⁴ Cf. p. 290, Vol. I of the History of Bengal (Bangala Itihāsa) by R. D. Banerji, 1st edition; also cf. Pische, *Katalogue der Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. II, p. 8.

Cf. F.N. 5.

Vidyapati's Bhuparikramana which was later expanded into the Purusa-pariksā, its extant eight tales forming the first chapter thereof.

आसीन्निधिलार्या कर्णाटकुलसंभवस्य नान्यदेवनाम्नो राज्ञः पुत्रो मल्लदेव नामधेयः कुमारः ।
कुमारः कान्यकुब्जं नाम जनपदं जगाम तत्र च जयचन्द्र नाम्नो राज्ञः Fol. 18b of the
Sans. Coll.

Tradition asserts that Nanyupa had two sons, Gangeyadeva and Malladeva, after whom the Gangāpur and Malladhā Tālukās, about 36 miles respectively to the east and south of Madhepura in Bhagalpur district, are known.

⁵ Certain śloka prevalent about Nanyadeva show that he ascended the throne in Saka 1019 (=1097 A.D.).

राजोवेति नलोवेति वेतिराजापुरवरा । अलक्षस्य धनं प्राप्य नान्योराजा भविष्यति ।
नन्देन्दु विन्दु विधु संश्रित माक वर्षे १०१९ तच्छ्रावणेधितदले मुनिविद्वित्तिथ्याम् । स्वातो
मैश्वर दिने करिवैरिहमे श्री नान्यदेव नृपतिर्विदधीत वास्तुम् ॥

Cf. pp. 10 and 11, *Ain-i-Tirhut*, by Babu Bihari Lal Sahib (1883 edition), printed at the Bahar Kasmiri Press (Lucknow).

There is an inscription of Pratāp Mall of Nepal dated Nepal Sambat 769 or 1648 A.D. In this inscription Nānya Deva family has been described.

beginning of the 12th century A.D.¹ As stated in the *Ghashmar Kathā* of the *Purusaparikṣā*, Jayacandra, king of Kanauj, was defeated and killed in the *War* with Shah-buddin by the treachery of his queen. We know from history that king Jaycandra of Kanauj was defeated by Shah-buddin, alias Muiz-zu-ddin Muhammad in 1194 A.D.²

Cf. Ind. Ant., 1880, p. 188 Bhagwanlal Indraji's Inscriptions from Nepal No. 18.

भयः श्रीयज्ञमन्त्रो नरपुतिरतुल्लो रत्नमन्त्रो ऽथमुयात् तस्मात् श्री सूर्यमन्त्रो । अवनपतिर-
भूततनु- जोऽमराष्ट्रमन्त्रोऽभूतस्य पुत्रोरिपुगणविजयी श्रीमहेन्द्राष्ट्रमन्त्रः ।

There is yet another śloka also.—

* श्री श्रीमन्महोदयमन्दयन्मन्त्रः सर्वाङ्ग सुन्दरवपुर्नमस्त्र वारति । भक्तापुरी नगरवासिन्
सौख्यकारी दुर्भिक्ष दुःखभय हारणदेव नृतिः ॥

There is yet another śloka :—

आसीत् श्रीसूर्यवंशे रघु चपकुलजो रामचन्द्रोऽन्वपेशः तद्वंशे नान्यदेवोऽवनपतिरभवत्तत्पुनः
गङ्गदेवः । तत्पुत्रोऽभूत्सिंहो नरपतिरतुल्लस्तत्पुनो रामसिंहः तज्जः श्रीशक्तिसहो धरणिपतिरभवत्
भूप भूपालसिंहः तस्मात्कर्णाट चूडामणिसिंहि चरयुत्सिंह देवोऽयं वंशे ।

श्रीसूर्यवंश प्रभवः प्रतापः श्रीपद्मवन्तः स्थितमन्त्रदेवः राजकुलदेव्याः पतिरिन्दुमूर्तिसंस्थात्मजो
श्रीजयधर्ममन्त्रः तस्यानुजो गुणनिधिः सुशक्तिसिन्धुर्भातातुमध्यजवरो जयज्योति मन्त्रः । तस्यानुजो
मदनरन्ध्रसमान देहधातः कनिष्ठ रुचिरोजय कीर्तिमन्त्रः ।

Cf. also pp. 31 and 32 of "Saraswati" for January, 1918.

¹ The *Purusaparikṣā* Durbhanga edition, pp. 223—233.

(The 12th tale of the fourth chapter.)

² Cf. *Empire India*, Vol. IV, page 121; and also C. M. Duff's *Chronology of India*, page 169, 1899 edition.

It appears that Jaycanda of Kanauj came to Benares in 1193 A.D. and established himself there. About the year 1195 A.D. it appears that Muhammad Ghori commanded Kutubuddin to advance with a vast force to fight with the Raja of Benares (Jaya Canda) who was slain in the action (*Taju-L-Ma-Asir* of Hasan Nizām, Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 222-23).

"Shahab-ud-din Ghori, king of Ghazni, sent his slave, Kutubuddin, to make war against the provinces of Hind and this General made an incursion in which he killed many, and returned home with prisoners and booty. The king of Benares was the greatest king in India, and possessed the largest territory, extending lengthwise from the borders of China to the province of Malwa (Malwa), and in breadth from the sea to within ten days' journey of Lahore. When he was informed of this inroad, he collected his forces, and in the year 590 H. (1194 A.D.), he entered the territories of the Muhammadans. Shahab-ud-din Ghori marched forth to oppose him, and the two armies met on the river Yamuna, which is a river about as large as the Tigris at Musal. The Hindu prince had seven hundred elephants, and his men were said to amount to a million. There were many nobles in his army. There were Mussulmans in that country since the days of Mahmud-din-Subuktgin, who continued faithful to the law of Islam, and constant in prayer and good works. When the two armies met there was great carnage; the infidels were sustained by their numbers, the Musulmans by their courage, but in the end the infidels fled, and the faithful were victorious. The slaughter of the Hindus was immense; none were spared except women and children, and the carnage of the men went on until the earth was weary. Ninety elephants were captured, and of the rest, some were killed and some escaped. The Hindu king was slain, and no one would have recognized his corpse but for the fact of his teeth, which were weak at their roots, being

But the tradition relates that one of *his* sons reigned in Nepal and the other, Gaṅgā Deva (or Gaṅgī Deva), in Mithilā. The latter is traditionally credited with having introduced the system of fiscal divisions or *pargannās* for the purposes of revenue administration; while a *Chaudhuri* or headman was appointed in each *parganna* to collect the revenue, and a *pancayata* was chosen to settle all disputes. Gaṅgā Deva was succeeded by his son Narasimha Deva, who is said to have had a quarrel with his kinsman, the king of Nepal, the upshot of which was that Mithilā and Nepal were separated never to be united again. Rāma Simha Deva,¹ who succeeded his father on the throne, was a pious devotee and a firm patron of sacred literature. Under his auspices several well-known commentaries on the Vedas were compiled, rules were framed for the guidance of Hindus in their religious and social observances; and an officer was appointed in each village to adjudicate upon all questions arising from the working of these new canons of conduct. Various reforms in the system of internal administration are also attributed to this king. In every village, a police officer was appointed whose duty it was to make a daily report of all occurrences worthy of note to the *chaudhuri* or head revenue collector of the *parganna*; the latter being assigned, in return for his services, a certain quantity of land, the produce of which was appropriated by him and his heirs in office. To the same period too is assigned the rise of the system of *patwaris* or village accountants, who were, it is said, paid at fixed rates from the village funds.

fastened in with golden wire. After the flight of the Hindus Shahab-ud-din entered Benares, and carried off its treasures upon fourteen hundred camels. He then returned to Ghazni. Among the elephants which were captured there was a white one. A person who saw it told me that when the elephants were brought before Shahab-ud-din, and were ordered to salute, they all saluted except the white one. No one should be surprised at what I have said about the elephants, for they understand what is said to them. I myself saw one at Musal with his keeper, which did whatever his keeper told him" (Kamilu-T-Tawarikh of Ibn Asir, Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 250 and 251).

It may also be that this Shahabuddin Mohd. Ghorī was the same person as Ghazī Muizzu-d-din Muhammad Sam. Minhaj, the author of *Tabakat-i-nasiri*, writes that under the orders of Sultan Sam, Kutubuddin Aibak defeated Rai *Jaya Canda* of *Benares*, A.H. 594 (1194 A.D.) and he also conquered the Eastern Provinces of Bengal and Behar (*Tabakat-I-Nasiri* of Minhaj-us-Siraj, page 300, Elliot, Vol. I).

¹ Rāmasimha Deva is mentioned in the book *Suddhikalp-taru* which was completed on the 14th of the bright half of the month Pausa in Samvat 1446 (1st January, 1390 A.D. which was a Saturday)—India Office MS. 4741, of the *Suddhikalptaru*, fol. 62 b:—

संवत् १४४६ समथ पौषशुद्धि १४ शनौ श्रीमन्नारायणपुर नृपनारायणेत्यादि + + +
दरनराजी विभाज मान महाशपति श्रीमन्नम सिद्धदेव मुज्यमानथा etc.

Rāma Simha Deva seems to have been a liberal patron of learning. His officer (Sadāśya) Śrikara Ācārya wrote the Vyākhyā amṛta, a commentary on the lexicon Amara-koṣa. Under his patronage Ratneśwara Miśra wrote a commentary on the rhetorical Sarasvati-kaṇṭhābharana (the Ratnadarpaṇa) and Prthvidhara Ācārya wrote a commentary on the drama Mrchakatikā.¹

On the death of Rāma Simha Deva, his son Śakti Simha ascended the throne, but his despotism appears to have offended the nobles, and one of his ministers established a council of seven elders as a check upon the autocratic power of the king.

Hari Simha Deva, the son of Śakti Simha, was the last but, in popular esteem, the greatest of the line. It was this king, it is believed, who grouped the Maithil Brāhmaṇas into the three main divisions of

Harisimha Deva, the greatest king of Simrāou dynasty.

Śrotriya, Yoga and Jaiwaras, made a classification of the sub-castes according to *mels* and *dihs*,² introduced the other matrimonial arrangements prevailing to this day, and established the order of Pañjiars or genealogists, who keep intact the purity of the Brāhmaṇa blood; the latter measure is said to have been taken by him in consequence of one of his ministers having married, in ignorance, a lady within the prohibited degrees of relationship. With this king at least we enter upon historical ground. In 1323, the Emperor Gyasuddin Tughlak led his victori-

¹ For Śrikara, Nepal Durbar Cat. p. 23 :—

इति मिथिलामहोमहेन्द्र समस्तप्रक्रिया विराजमानश्रीम + + + वरलब्धप्रसादपुण्ययाव-
लोक मन्त्राणाधिराज श्रीमद्रामसिंहदेवानां सदस्य मन्त्रामहोपाध्याय श्रीश्रीकरविरचित्तायाम-
मरकोषविवरण टीकायां व्याख्यामन्त्राभिधानायां भूषाण्डे + + + विवरण समाप्तं This com-
mentary of Śrikara is quoted in Jagaddhara's commentary on the Venisamhāra
nāṭakam, इति मरकोषटीकायां श्रीकरः (Nir. Sag. Press ed., p. 39). For Ratneśvar R.
Mitra, Notes IX, p. 230, and Peterson's 3rd report, p. 350 (attributed to
Ramasimha Deva in text, and to Ratneśvar in colophon) :—

श्रीरामसिंहदेवेन दीर्घपदलिखितदिवा ।

क्रियतेऽवनिभूषाण्ड कण्ठाभरणदर्पणः ॥ [१ ॥]

² For Prithidhara Ācārya, cf. Weber's Berlin Catalogue, p. 161, मिथिलाधिपति
श्रीमद्रामसिंहदेव ।

³ This is based upon tradition backed up by the Maithila Pañjis.

ous forces into Tirhut on his march back from the defeat of Bahadur Shah, the rebellious Governor of Bengal, and proceeded to reduce this outlying portion of the empire and appointed Ahmad Khan as Governor. Hari Simha fell back on the capital, Simrāon, but this was soon taken and reduced to ruins. Ferista gives the following account of its capture¹ :—

“As the king was passing near the hills of Tirhut, the Rājā appeared in arms, but was pursued into the woods. Finding his army could not penetrate them, the king alighted from his horse, called for a hatchet, and cut down one of the trees with his own hand. The troops, on seeing this, applied themselves to work with such spirit that the forest seemed to vanish before them. They arrived at length at a fort surrounded by seven ditches, full of water, and a high wall. The king invested the place, filled up the ditches and destroyed the wall in three weeks. The Rājā and his family were taken and great booty obtained.”

The account generally received is that Hari Simha escaped to Nepal, conquered it, and established himself at or near Bhatgaon; and that his descendants continued to rule that country till they were displaced by Prthwi Nārāyaṇa on the Gurkha conquest of Nepal in 1769.² Recent researches, however, seem to show that neither Hari Simha nor his ancestors succeeded in maintaining any effectual authority over Nepal, and Professor Bendall sums up the position of this dynasty as follows :—“Until more evidence is forthcoming, it seems safer to regard Hari Simha and his ancestors, who reigned in Tirhut, Simrāon, and also possibly other parts of the Nepal Tarai, as at most titular kings of Nepal, even if they really claimed sovereignty over the valley of Nepal at all.”³

¹ Cf. pp. 406-407 of the History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India till the year 1612 A.D. translated from Ferista by Briggs, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1908 edition; also Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, 8, 188, 194 and 199; J.R.A.S., iv, 124; IA, XIII, 414, ETH, 403.

² Cf. Oldfield's Sketches from Nepal, Vol. I, 1880.

³ Prof. C. Bendall's History of Nepal and surrounding Kingdoms, J.A.S.B. Vol. LXXII, Part I, 1903.

The śloka below gives the date of Harisimhadeva's flight to Nepal as śākā 1245 (1324 A.D.).

वाणान्निवाडु शशिसन्निभ शक्रवर्ध,
पौषस्य शुक्लदशमी चितिसुखनारे ।

It is not certain what became of Harisimha's family after his defeat by Gyasuddin Tughlak. The Nepala Vamsāvali¹ (genealogy) and some Nepal manuscripts mention that Harisimha invaded Nepal in Newar Samvat 444 (=1324 A.D.), but they do not say what happened after this invasion to the family of Harisimha. It is generally admitted that Jayāsthiti, a descendant of Harisimha, defeated Jayārjuna, Rājā of Nepal, and married princess Rajallādevi of the Nepal Rāja family in the Newar year 474 (=1353 A.D.), established a reign of peace in Nepal, and encouraged learning.² It is possible that some of Harisimha's successors ruled off and on in Nepal, though it is not unlikely that they had a disturbed crown as it appears that Jayārajana or Jayadeva of the Nepal Rāja family was ruling there soon after Harisimha's invasion.

As regards Mithilā, it is said that three of his succes-

त्यक्ता स्व पट्टनपुरी हरिसिंहदेवो

दुर्दैव दर्शितपथे गिरिमाविवेश ॥

Cf. pages 17, Ain-i-Tirhut by Behāri Lal, 1883, the Bahar Kasmiri Press, Lucknow. The date of Harisimha's birth is mentioned as Śākā 1216 and the date of the preparation of the Tirhut Punjis (genealogical tables of the Brahmins) as Śākā 1232. Cf. the following śloka on the same page:—

शके श्रीहरिसिंहदेव नृपतिर्भयार्कतुल्योजनिः तस्मादतमितेव्यके द्विजगणः पञ्चो प्रबध्नुतः ।

D. W. Right in his history of Nepal has mentioned one Harideva of Nepal as separate from one Harisimhadeva, a Rājā of Oudh, who was expelled by the Muhammadan power from Oudh, came and settled down at Simraon and then conquered the Nepal Valley, but did not maintain any effectual authority over it. But it may be conclusively mentioned that no Muhammadan historian has mentioned any Rājā named Harisimha Deva of Oudh and that the story regarding the Oudh origin of Harisimha Deva is a myth.

But cf. the reference to Harisimhadeva's sovereignty in Nepal in Indian Antiquary, 1880, p. 189, inscription No 19, verse 10.—

जात श्रीहरिसिंहदेव नृपतिः प्रौढ प्रतापोदयः

तद्वये विमले महारिपुहरे गाम्भीर्यरत्नाकरः ॥

कर्ता यः सरसामृत्य मिथिलां सलक्ष्य लक्षप्रियो

नेपाले पुनराद्य वैभवयुते स्त्रैर्ये विधत्ते चिरम् ॥ १० ॥

Also cf. Pandit Bhagwāna Lāla's note on Nepal ruling family. Ind. Antiquary, 1884, p. 414, which assigns definite periods of reigns as:—

Nānyadeva—50 years

Gangādva—41 „

Nṛsimhadeva—39 „

Rāmasimha—58 „

Harisimha—28 „

¹ Cf. Nepalese Sanskrit Manuscripts, No. 6 of the Dentsdomorges (Dr Fischels, Catalogue, p. 8), p. XIV of Historical Introduction, Bendall's Sanskrit Manuscripts, Cambridge, 1883.

² Cf. pp. 11-13 of Bendall's History of Nepal and surrounding kingdoms.

sors, viz. Mati Simha, Śakti Simha and Syāma Siṃha ruled in successive order¹ for 15 and 22, and 15 years respectively. This would carry on his line in Mithilā to the year 1375 A.D. But it is most probable that Gyasuddin Tughlak installed some body in power on the defeat and expulsion of Harisimhadeva in 1324 A.D. and so Harisimha or his successors simply continued struggling in Tirhut after installation of a ruler by the Muslim Emperor. It is probable that Kāmeśwara and his descendants who were given the place of Harisimha, ruled for some time side by side with Harisimha and his descendants and that they could consolidate their power only after a struggle of some 50 years after the installation of Kāmeśwara.

The internal and the external evidence makes it certain that there were branches of the same original stock both in Mithilā and Nepal, though the Mithilā (Simrāon) dynasty was crushed out of existence by the Muslim onslaught and that the living members of the Mithilā dynasty settled down after this event in some parts of Nepal.

Though Nānya Deva, Gaṅgādeva, Narasimhadeva, Rāma Simha, Śakti Simha and Hari Simha have been recorded as kings of this dynasty in successive order, yet the two most important personages were Nānyadeva and Hari Simha Deva.

Harisimha Deva has been mentioned as king of Mithilā by Candeswara in the introduction to his *Kṛtya-ratnākara*. In the same introduction Candeswara, his father Vireśwara, and grandfather Devaditya, are called ministers of this king.² Ganeśwara, son of Devāditya,

¹ Cf. Nepalese Sanskrit Manuscript, No. 6 of the Deutsdomorges (Dr. Pischels' Catalogue, p. 8), p. XIV, Historical Introduction, Bendall's Sanskrit Manuscript, Cambridge, 1883.

² The *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, As. Soc. Bengal MS., fol. 1a, Ind. Govt. MS. 3604 fol. and I.O.MS. No. 1387:—

अस्ति त्रीश्वरसिंह देव नृपतिर्निगेष विद्वेषिणः ।

निर्मायी मिथिला प्रसादखिला कर्ण्ड वंशोद्भवः ॥

आशाः सिद्धिं यो यशोभिरमलैः पीयषधाराद्रवै-

देवैः शारदशर्च्यरी पतिरिवाशेष प्रियभावकः ॥ ४ ॥

Cf. also the *Puruṣa-parikṣā*, 2nd chapter, the story of Subuddhi :—

and author of the sugati¹ sopāna, also calls himself a minister. Candēśwara is said to have conquered Nepal for him after, which the minister performed the great religious gift of *tulā-purusa* (gift of gold of the donor's weight) on the bank of the Vāgmati river in the month of Mārga, Śakā 1286, or November, 1314 A.D.² As Candēśwara's father and grandfather had already served the king, the latter must have begun to rule several years before 1314. It would not thus be far from truth to infer that Harisimha Deva was ruling from the last decade of the thirteenth century.

In the Dāna-ratnākara Candēśwara is described as having rescued the earth flooded by Mlecchas,³ Kavisekharācārya Jyotirīśvara in his two act comedy, the Dhūrtasamāgama,⁴ is a little more definite. The comedy was played in the court of Karnāta-curāmani, king Harisimhadeva, who is said to have conquered Suratrāna (Sultan). The Sultan referred to is most probably the Delhi Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak, who in 724 H. (1324 A.D.) marched towards Bengal through Tirhut.⁵

आसीन्मिथिलायां कर्णाटकसूक्ष्मो हरिसिंहदेवो नाम राजा । तस्य साङ्ख्यप्रवचनं
पारगमि दण्डनीतिकुशलो गणेश्वरनामधेयो मन्त्री बभूव ॥

Also Bhandarkar's reports, 1883-4, p. 48 : Hall's Sāṅkhyapravachana, p. 36.

For the ministership of Viresvara and Devāditya cf. the introductory verses of the Kṛtya-ratna and the Kṛtya-cintāmani (I.O. 1621), and also the final colophons of the various sections of the Ratnākara.

¹ Cf. Ind. Gov. MS. 6126, Intr. verse :—

वेदसूतिपुराणादि दृष्ट्वा लोकहितैषिणा ॥
कृतं सुगतिस्वोपानं श्रीगणेश्वरमन्त्रिणा ॥ १ ॥

² Cf. the Kṛtya, Dāna and Vivāda-ratnākara.

³ The Dāna-ratnākara, final verse 2. R. Mitra, Notices, VI, 135, No. 2069 ;—

मया स्वेच्छमन्त्रार्थे येनोद्धृताल्लेखः

⁴ The Dhūrtasamāgama nātaka the comedy of meeting of the cheats, printed (Calcutta and Bombay), Nep. Durbar Notices, p. 66.

नानायोधकिण्वनिर्जितसुरचाण्ड सद्वाहिनौ-
वत्यङ्गौमकवन्धमेलकदलदु भूमि भमदु भूधरः ।
अस्ति श्रीहरसिंहदेव नृपतिः कर्णाट वृद्धामणि-
द्वयत् पार्थिवसार्थमौलि मुकुटन्यसाङ्ख्यपङ्केजः

The Calcutta printed edition has हरसिंह for हरसिंह

⁵ The Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 234, says, "When the Sultan reached Tirhut, the ruler of Lakhnauti, Sultan, Nasir-ud-din, came forth with great respect to pay homage to the Sultan, and without the sword being called into requisition, all the Rāis, and Ranas of the country made their submission."

It may therefore be taken that the comedy was played before the king, Hari Simha Deva, not earlier than about 1325 A.D.

With the flight of Hari Simha, Tirhut became practically a dependency of the empire of Delhi, and Emperor Gyasuddin Tughlak placed it under Kāmeśwar Thākura, the founder of the Sugaona or Thākura dynasty which continued to rule over Tirhut till early in the 16th century.

The Simrāon dynasty succeeded by the Kameśwara dynasty under the Muslims' sway.

It has already been said that the Rājās of Mithilā as of the rest of India were subject to the Delhi Emperor so far as they had to pay revenue, otherwise they were independent. Ghiyasuddin Tughlak's son, Muhammad, issued coins with the mint name Tughlakpur' Urf Tirhut. Two of them still exist. They belong to the forced currency system (brass for silver), and one in the Indian Museum is dated Cr. 731 H. (1330-1 A.D.).¹ Furthermore Vidyāpati in his tale of the Satyvīra (the truthful hero) narrates that Muhammad, the Yavana king of Hastinapura, had a fight with the king Kafar (Kafar-rāja) during which Muhammad's men began to retire, on which he called for some warriors to stem this retreat; that prince Narasimha Deva of Karnāta kula and prince Carcikadeva of Cauhāna kula stepped forward, and that Narasimha² ultimately killed the Kafar raja,³ whose head was cut off and taken to Muhammad by Carcikadeva.

¹ These two unique coins, specimens of Muhammad's mad attempts to force people to use brass coins in the place of silver for the same value, are of 140 and 133 grains respectively. For the coins of 140 grains cf. Rogers' Indian Museum Coins, Part I, p. 63, No. 12911, and Bourdillon's Catalogue of Ind. Mus. Coins, Vol. II, p. 60, No. 384. For the coin of 133 grains, cf. J. A. S. B., 1883, p. 62v, fig. 32 and Rogers' Cat., Part I, p. 63, No. 12912.

² The name Nrsimha, too, appears in the traditional account of Nepal inscription. He is named also in the Dana paddhati where the author Rāmadatta declares himself to be his mantle or minister. Rāmadatta was uncle's son of Candēśvara Thākura and was therefore near in time to that author. Hence Rāmadatta's master Nrsimha must have been near in time to Candēśvara's master, the king Harisimhadeva, and very likely succeeded him.

The Dana Paddhati, I. O. MS 1714 (p. 550).—

आनन्दक्षितिपालमौलिवल्लभी प्रत्यक्ष रत्नाङ्कुर
ज्योतिः क्षास्त्रितपादपङ्कयुगलः श्रीमन्नुचिह्नो रूपः ।
सौम्य श्रीनिकषः प्रभासि मिथिलाभूमण्डल रंजयन्
कषाटान्वयभूषणः क्षतधियां निव्याजकल्पद्रुमः ॥ १ ॥
मन्त्री तस्य मन्त्रतो गुरुरिव श्रीरासदत्तः सत्ताम्
आधारः सुकृती समस्तभुवन प्रख्यातदानोत्सवः ॥ २ ॥

³ Vidyāpati's Bhuparikramaṇa, Sans. Coll. Cat. VI, 79, fol. 27A-B

The rule of this dynasty left its mark on Sanskrit learning of Mithilā. Smṛtic studies were renewed and considerably developed by Candēśwara and his family, and by such notable scholars as Śridattopādhyāya, Harināthopādhyāya, Bhavesarman, Indrapati and his pupil Lakṣmipati. Padmanābha Datta started an important school of grammar with his Supadma and its supplements, works which are still studied in the districts of Jessore and Khulna in Bengal. On rhetoric and erotics, Bhānudatta Misra and some other authors wrote some of the most popular works.¹ Among literary compositions the commentary of Bhavadatta on epic poem Naisadhacaritam is still studied with interest; while the commentary of Pṛthvidhara Ācāryya on the drama Mrcchakatika written under the patronage of Rāmasimhadeva has been already noticed. Lexicon was represented by Srikara Ācāryya (commentary on the Amara-kosa). Jyotirīśvara also deserves mention for composing the earliest extant work in Maithili vernacular, the Varṇaratnākara.

CHAPTER III.

THE SUGĀON DYNASTY (OF KĀMESWARA).

An account of the Sugāon dynasty may be interesting. Kameśwara² was the founder of this dynasty and he was set in his place as a ruler of Mithilā by the Delhi Emperor Gyasuddin Toghlak. Vaid-

Kāmeswara, the founder of the dynasty, under the protection of Firoz Shah Toghlak.

पुरा हस्तिनपुरनाम्नि नगरे महमदनामा यवनेश्वरो बभूव [॥] अस्मिन्नासमुद्रं धरणीवल्लय
शासति तदुत्कर्षासद्भिः काफिरराजसमभियोक्त सक्तवत्सहितस गजगाम fol. 208.

तच्च यवनराजवचनं श्रुत्वा कर्णाटकुलसमभ्युदये महमदनामा चौहानकुलसंभवश्चार्चिकनामा च
मोजिकुमारो प्रोचतु.....

¹ In rhetoric, Bhānudatta's *Supadma* was commented upon by Ratnesvara and others. For the *Pañcasayaka* and *Rangasekhara*, note the notes on mediaeval poets and songs of Mithilā, Indian Journal, Vol. XIV, 1885, and p. 57; Vol. XXVIII, 1899; also Journal,

dhamāṇa has mentioned him in his Gaṅgā-kṛtya-viveka. It appears that he was a Brāhmaṇa and Rāja Pāṇḍita, as mentioned by Vidyāpati in his Dāna Vākyaṇali.² Kāmeśwara was succeeded by his son Bhogīśwara, who has been mentioned as a ruler in some of Vidyāpati's songs.³ It is said that Kāmeśwara was deposed in favour of his son Bhogīśwara by Firoz Shah Toghlak.⁴ Both were thus contemporaries of Firoz Shah Toghlak. Bhogīśwara is traditionally said to have been succeeded by his son Gaṇeśwara.⁵

Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. LXVIII (1899), Part I, p. 96, also C. Bendall's Notes, Journal, Asiatic Society Bengal, 1903, pp. 18-19; also Eggling, India Office Catalogue, pp. 875-6, Sugaon was the name of a village where the members of this family are said to have originally settled down. Its identity is not yet settled. Some place it at the modern village of Sugaon near Bettiah, others identify it with Sugawnā near Madhubani.

¹ Cf. the Gaṅgā-kṛtya-viveka (Br. Mus. Cat. p. 75 No. 198), Intro. verse 2, —

कामेशो मिथिलासंसाधन, etc.

The date of Kāmeśwara's instalment as ruler of Mithilā is uncertain. It is certain that Gyasuddin Tughlak expelled Harisimhadeva from Mithilā about 1324 A.D. and it is most probable that he set another man in his place in the same year. But as there is some reason to think that Harisimha's successors lingered on in Mithilā some time after his expulsion, it may be safe to assume that both the families ruled in different parts of Mithilā for some time before Kāmeśwara or his successors finally drove them out. Also as it is certain that Deva Simha who lived about 1410 A.D. was preceded by 5 Rājās of this dynasty, it is most probable that the first Rājā of this dynasty was installed in his place about 1325 A.D. even if only 15 years' reign is assigned to each of them. There are some songs (in the Maithili dialect) which would show that Sivasimha, who succeeded Devsimha, was the real or most powerful ruler. This would indicate that his predecessors were not fully established in authority perhaps as Harisimha's successors were struggling for their existence as rulers.

² Cf. The Ind. Govt. MS. of the Kirtti-lalā, 2nd pallava, p. 3 :—

प्रति कामेश्वरसम्राट्— and the Dāna-vākyaṇali (R. Mitra, Notices, V, p. 137, No. 1830, and R. Bhandarkara's Report for 1883-4, p. 352) introd. verse 3 :—

श्रीकामेश्वरराज पण्डित कुलालकार सारः त्रिया, ।

मा रामो नरसिंहदेव मिथिला भूषणलालखण्डः ॥

³ The Padāvali (edited by Babu Nagendranātha Gupta in Bengali Sana 1316), song No. 801, the end verse :—

राजभोगिर गुणनागरारे ।

पद्मादेवि रजोत् ॥ १ ॥

⁴ Ind. Govt. MS. of the Kirtti-lalā

मति कामेश्वरसम्राट् । अथ अथ ।

केशवराज भणि पियरोजसो मुरतन सम

⁵ Cf. p. 416 of the Journal of the Ind. Mus., 1916.

Birasimhadeva followed Gaṇeśwara. He was followed by his brother Kirtisimhadeva. Birasimha and Kirtisimha were sons of Gaṇeśwara. Kirtisimha has been aised by Vidyāpati in his Kīrtilatā.¹

Bhavaśa or Bhavasimhadeva succeeded Kirtisimha. He was the younger son of Kameśwara. According to dyāpati's Puruṣa-parikṣā Bhava Simha Deva gave up his dy before Lord Śiva on the bank of the river Bāgmati.²

Bhava Simha Deva was succeeded by his son Deva Simha whose virudā³ was Garura Nārāyaṇa. He patronised the Paṇḍitas. By his order Vidyāpati wrote the

urikramaṇa describing the travel of Baladeva from the ainiṣya forest to Janakadeśa (Mithilā)⁴ in the course of which he was told eight moral tales, with this king's consent, Śrīdatta compiled the smṛtic Ek-āgni-dāna-paddhati.⁵ arihara, grandfather of Murāri, was his Chief Judge.

It is certain that Deva Simha lived before the L.S. ar 291 (=1410 A.D.) when the copying of a manuscript Śrīdhara's commentary on the Kāvya Pradīpa by order

¹ Cf. Ind. Govt. MS., 2nd pallava, p. 4 :—

चन्द्रचूड चरणसेव समस्तप्रक्रिया विराजमान महाराजाधिराज श्रीमद्वीरसिंहदेव तत्-
नष्ट गरिष्ठ गुण कीर्ति सिंह भूपास ॥

Also Ind. Govt. MS., 1st pallava, introd. verse 5, p. 1.—

श्रीतुर्ज्ञातुर्वदान्यस्य कीर्तिसिंह महीपते ।

करोतु कवितुः काव्य विद्यापतिः कविः ॥

² Cf. Vidyāpati's Puruṣa-parikṣā, the end verse No. 1 :—

ब्राह्मण्यां भवसिंहदेव नृपतिस्त्यक्ता शिवायेवपुः ।

पूतो यस्य पितामहस्तरगमहारद्वयान्वज्जतः ॥ १ ॥

³ Virudā—Poetic or honorific name according to qualification

⁴ Cf. The Bhu-parikramaṇa, Sanskrit College MS., VI, 79 (fol. 1a) introd. es 23'—

देवसिंह निदेशाच्च नैमिषारण्यवासिनः ॥

शिवसिंहस्य पितुः स्वतपोड निवासिनः ॥ १ ॥

पञ्चषष्टि देशयुतां पञ्चषष्टि कथान्वितां ॥

सतः खण्डसमायक्तासाच्च विद्यापतिः कविः ॥ २ ॥

of Vidyāpati was completed and when Śiva Simha was ruling Tirhut,¹ and also before the L.S. year 290 (=14 A.D.) when a manuscript of Śrīdatta's Ek-āgni-dāna-pāṭha (compiled under this king's order) was completed.

He is said to have removed his capital to a place called Devakuli which he named after himself.²

Deva Simha was succeeded by his son Śiva Simha who has been highly praised by Vidyāpati in his Puruṣa-parikṣa.³ Śiva Simha bore the "Vīruda", Rudra Nārāyaṇa. Vidyāpati has praised him and his queen Lakhimadevī in a very large number of songs. Vidyāpati's songs mention Tipura Simha, Arya Rai, Amara Simha, Rudra Simha, Rai Damodara and others as contemporaries of Śiva Simha. But no authentic proof regarding these princes is available. He is said to have built his capital at Śiva Simhapura or Gajarathapura. Śiva Simha was ruling in the Lā Samvat 291 when a manuscript of Śrīdhara's Kāvya-prakāśaviveka was copied.

Vidyāpati's praise of Śiva Simha and his queen Lakhimadevī.

¹ Cf. the Kāvya-prakāśa-viveka, Ind. Govt MSS. fol. 117a.

इति तर्काचार्यवक्त्र श्रीश्रीधरविरचिते काव्यप्रकाशविवेक(के) दशम उक्ताः ॥ शुभमस्तु
समस्तविषयावली मञ्जाराजाधिराज श्रीमत्शिवसिद्धदेव संभुज्यमान तीरभुक्ती श्रीगङ्गा
पुरनगरे सप्रज्ञियै सद्गुपाध्यायवक्त्र श्रीविद्यापति नामाज्ञया खोपालस श्रीप्रभाकर
लिखितेषा हस्ताभ्यां [1] लस २९१ कार्तिकविदि १० [1]

According to a song attributed to Vidyāpati, Devasimha died on a Thursday month Caitra, Lā Sam. 293.

अनन्तर धरकर लकन नरवर्द्ध सक ससुद्धकर (पुर ?) अग्निनि सरी चतकारि कठि
मल्लिखो वार वेदप्यई ज।उल्लसी ॥

परिषद् ग्रन्थावलि, २४, पृष्ठ ४०१

² Nepal MSS. Notices, page 129, the final colophon —

इति महामहोपाध्याय मित्र श्रीनरेश्वरात्मजावस्थित + + + + + ध्यायन् श्रीदत्त प
वेकाग्रि विधि मन्त्राधन विधान पूर्णम् । समान्नायं ग्रन्थः । शुभमस्तु । लस २९९ पौष शुदि ९
.... श्रीधनेश्वरेण लिखितेयं पुस्तोति ।

³ Cf. p. 57 of the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, 1899.

⁴ The Puruṣa-parikṣa (Mitia, Notices V. 245, No. 1022) the introd. verse 3

निक्षेपान्निसङ्ग सहसि शिवसिद्धचितिपते ।

कथानां प्रस्तावं विरचयति विद्यापति कविः ॥

And the final colophon of the 4th

इति समस्तप्रज्ञिया विराजमानः

श्रीविद्यापति विरचितः

by order of Vidyāpati.¹ Padma Simha, younger brother of Śiva Simha, succeeded him and has been mentioned by Vidyāpati in Śaiva-sarvaśwa-sāra.²

According to Puruṣa-parikṣā and Śaiva-Sarvasva-sāra, Vidyāpati is said to have defeated the rulers of Gauḍa (Bengal) and Gajjan.³ It is not known who was this ruler of Gajjan, but perhaps he was some Muhammadan ruler near Tirhut. Śivasimha appears also to have struck gold coins⁴ in his name and it is probable that he succeeded in making Mithilā absolutely independent.

Harisimhadeva, who was younger son of Bhava Simha and a younger brother of Deva Simha, succeeded Padma Simha. He has been mentioned by Vidyāpati in his Bībhāgasāra. He has also been mentioned by Vācāṣpati Miśra in Kṛtya-mahārṇava⁵ and Mahā-dāna-nir-ṇaya, by Miśaru Miśra in his Vivād candra and Varddhamāna in his Gaṅgā-kṛtya-viveka.⁶ He must be distinguished from his name-sake of the Karnāt dynasty.

Harisimhadeva was succeeded by his son Narasimhadeva, whose "Viruda" was Darpanā-rāyaṇa. By his name or by his viruda is mentioned in several works, e.g. in Vidyāpati's ina-vākyāvali and Durgā-bhakti-taṭaṅgiṇi, in Vācāṣpati Śra's Kṛtya-mahārṇava, Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi and Mahādāna nirṇaya, in Miśaru Miśra's Vivādacandra, in Vidyāpati's Anargha-Rāghava-tikā, in Varddhamān Gaṅgā-

¹ Cf. India Govt. MS. fol. 117 a

² Cf. The Śaiva-sarvasva-sāra, introd. verse 6 and 8 —

सङ्ग्रामाङ्गणसौम भोम सदृशस्तस्यानुजस्तलस-
दानं स्तुतिपत कल्पदत्त मन्दिमासौ पञ्चसिंहो नृपः ॥ ५१ ॥
पत्युः सिंहासनस्था प्रथमिच्छित्तमहो मण्डलं पालयन्ती
श्रीमद्विष्णुस देवी जगति विजयते चर्ययाकम्बतीव ॥ ५२ ॥

³ Cf. Puruṣa-parikṣā and Śaiva sarvasva-sāra.

⁴ Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India, 1913-14.

⁵ The Vibhaga-sāra (R. Mitra, Notices, VI, p. 68. No. 2037) introd. verse 2:—

राजो भवेद्वाहिरि (र) सिंह आसीत्, the Kṛtya-Mahārṇava (R. Mitra, Notices V, No. 1886), and the Mahādāna-nirṇaya (Nepal MSS, p. 122), introd. verse 3:—

संग्राम सौमनि भगवद्विहारी करिष्यत् चाविर्भवत तनयो हरसिंह देवः ॥ १ ॥

⁶ Vivāda-candra (Sansk. Coll. C. II, 116), introd. verse 3:—

तस्माद्भूमौ जनि स्तुतसारोर्ध्वमनुमास्तुतमानं सारः ।
राजोपजीव्यो हरसिंह नामा ततो नृपो दर्पनारायणोभूतः ॥ १ ॥

krtya-viveka, and in Gadādhara's Tantra-pradīpa.¹ He should be distinguished from his name-sake of the Karnāṭa dynasty.

Two of his queens are known, Dhīramati by whose order Vidyāpati wrote the Dāna-vākya-avali, and Hīrā, mother of Candrasimha mentioned in Miśra's Vivāda-candra.²

Narasimha's eldest son, Dhīra Simha, succeeded him. He bore the "viruda" of Hridaya-nārāyaṇa. He is mentioned in Vidyāpati's last work, the Durgā-bhakti-taraṅginī, in Vācāspati-Miśra's Vyavahāra-ciṅtāmaṇi, in Madhu-sudana Miśra's Jyotiṣa-pradīp-aṅkura, and in Gadādhara's Tantra-pradīpa.³

On a Saturday when it was new moon of the month of Kārtika in Lakṣmaṇasena year 321, a MS. of Śrinivāsa's Setu-darpaṇi (a commentary on the Prākṛta poem Setu-bandha) was copied while Dhīrasimha was ruling Tirabhukti (Tirhut). It appears that in 1438 A.D. the Kārtika new moon fell on Saturday (18th October).⁴ Thus

Dhīra Simha lived in
1438 A.D.

¹ Cf. the Dāna-vākya-avali (R. Mitra, Notices, V, 137 No. 1830, R. Bhaṇḍ-
kara's Rep. for 1883-4, p. 352; I.G.M.S. 5545) the Durgā-bhakti-taraṅginī (I.G.
Govt. Newari MS. 4860 fol. 1a), introd. verse 3 :—

सखि श्रीनरसिंहदेव मिथिला भूमिखलाखण्डलो etc,

and the end verse No. 2 —

भूप श्रीभवसिंहवंशतिलकः श्रीदर्पनरायणः ।

The Vivāda-candra and the Gaṅga-krtya-viveka have been quoted already in note 4 on the previous page.

For Rūcīpati's mention of Narasimhadeva, cf. the Nirṇayasagara Press edition of the Anargha-Rāghava-tikā, introd. verse 2, p. 2 :—

अभूदभूत प्रतिपक्षभीतिः सदा समासादित भूमिनीति ।

चिरं कृतार्थी कृत भूमिदेवः स्फुरत् प्रतापो नरसिंहदेवः ॥ १ ॥

² The Dāna-vākya-avali, introd. verse 4 :—

विज्ञानुज्ञाय विद्यापति मति कतिन सम्प्रमाणासुदाराम् ॥

राज्ञीप्रणालोका विरचयनि नवां दाभवाक्यावलौ सा ॥ १ ॥

and the Vivāda-candra, introd. verse 4 :—

दर्पनरायण वपतेः श्रीमद्दीरा महादेवी ।

अलभत् सुनय तनय नरपति गुणराजिपरीतं प्रूरम् ॥ ५ ॥

³ This prince Gadādhara was a son of Raghavendra, who was son of the King Dhīra Simha.

⁴ Cf. the Setu-darpaṇi, final colophon :—

पद्मभट्टारकेत्यादि महाराजाधिराज श्रीमन्नक्षत्रसेन देवीयैक विंशत्यधिक शतत्रयतमावे

it is clear that Dhīra Siṃha lived in the 1st half of the 15th century.

Bhairava Siṃha was the younger brother and successor of Dhīra Siṃha. Dhīra Siṃha had at least one son, Rāghavendra. It is not known how Bhairavendra came to oust him out of the throne. But in the Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇi Bhairavendra is highly praised, and from his "Viruda"¹ Rupanārāyaṇa, it is not improbable that he was ruling jointly with Dhīrasīṃha at the time, just as Śivasīṃha is said to have been ruling with his father Devasīṃha. He appears to have assumed, probably when he became the sole ruler, the other "Viruda" Harinārāyaṇa. By his name or his later viruda he is mentioned in other works, such as Rucipati's Anargha-Rāghavatikā, in Vācāṣpati Miśra's Dvaita-nirṇaya, Kṛtya-mahārṇava, Mahādāna-nirṇaya, Sudr-ācāracaṇṭāmaṇi and Pitrabhakti-taraṅgiṇi, and in Varddhamāna's Daṇḍa-viveka, and Garṅgā kṛtya-viveka.²

कार्तिकाभावस्यायां शनौ समस्त प्रक्रिया विराजमान रिपुराज कंस नारायण शिवभक्तिपरायण
महाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीमद्बीरसिंह संमुख्यमानायां तीरभूक्तौ अलापुरतया प्रतिबन्ध (ज) सुन्दरी-
यामे वसता सदुपाध्याय श्रीसुधाकराणामात्मजेन काव्यश्रीरत्नेश्वरेण स्वार्थं परार्थञ्च लिखितमिदं
मेतुदर्पणीयुक्तमिति ॥

Dhīrasīṃha is here given the viruda Kamśa-nārayaṇa an epithet also suggested in the introductory verse 6 of the Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇi, and adopted later on by Lakṣminātha :—

देवी भक्तिपरायणः अतिमुख प्रारब्धपरायणः
संयामे रिपुराज कंसदलन प्रत्यक्षनारायणः ।
विशेषां हितकाम्यया ऋषवरोऽनुज्ञाप्य विधापति
श्रीदुर्गात्सव पद्धतिं सतनुते हृष्टा निबन्धस्थिति ॥ ६ ॥

Cf. pages 425-26 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for November and December 1915, Vol. XI.

¹ Cf. I.G.MS. 4760, fol. 1a, the introd. verse 5 and the end verse No. 2 :—

श्रीयथावर्जित पञ्चगौडधरणीनाथोपमस्त्रीकृता-
नेकोत्तुङ्गतरङ्गसङ्गत सितम्बाभिरामोदयः ।
श्रीमद्भैरव सिंहदेव ऋषतिर्यस्यानुजगमय-
त्याचन्द्रार्कमखण्डकीर्तिसञ्चितः श्रीरूपनारायणः ॥

² Cf. The Anargha-Rāghava-tikā (Nirn. Sag. ed.), p. 2 introd. verse 3 :—

सूनुसस्य वसुंधरापरिहृष्टानन्दकन्धर्षिते-
राधारो जगतामशेष विदुषां विश्रामकल्पद्रुमः ।

Only one queen's name is found,¹ Jayā (Jayātmā).
 She was mother of Rājādhirāja Puṇḍ-
 Queen Jayā or Jayatmā ṣottamadeva, and at her instance,
 Vācāspati wrote the Dvaita-nirṇaya, on the doubtful points
 of smṛti.²

Bhairavendra patronized the Sanskrit learning. Un-
 der his patronage, Rucipati wrote his
 Bhairava Simha's pat- commentary, Vācāspati Miśra compiled
 ionage of Sanskrit learn- the Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi, Kṛtyama-
 ing hārṇava and the Mahādāna-nirṇaya
 and Varddhamāna Upādhyāya composed the Daṇḍa-
 viveka.³ Vācāspati was his "pariṣad" or officer, and
 Varddhamāna his dharmādhikāranika⁴ or Judge.

दानकर्ण कथावर्णनपुष्प ससाररत्नाङ्कुरो

भूमिपाल शिरोमणिर्विजयते श्रीभैरवेन्द्रो नमः ॥ ३ ॥

Also J. R. A. S., v. s., XX, 154

¹ Tradition says that there were two queens, Jyano and Jūyano. Jyano's son was Garuḍanarsyana Puṇḍottamadeva and Jūyano's son was Rūpa Nārāyaṇa Ramabhadra. He succeeded Bhairava Simha.

² Cf. the Dvaita-nirṇaya (R. Mitra, Notices, I, p. 149 No. 275), introd. verses 5 and 7.—

विष्णोर्व्यक्तं पुरमिव शास्त्रोरिव देववामाङ्गौ ।

देवीसनाभिरेषा जयति जयात्मा मन्त्रादेवी ॥

श्रीभैरवेन्द्र धरणीपति धर्मपद्मी राजाधिराज पुरुषोत्तमदेवमाता ।

वाचस्पति निखिल तन्त्रविद् भियुज्य द्वैते विनिर्णयविधि विधिरुत्तनोति ॥ १ ॥

³ Cf. the colophons of Anargha Raghava-tika,

इति समस्तप्रक्रियाविराजमान रिपुराज कस नारायण भवभक्तिपरायण श्रीहरिनारायण
 पद्मसमलङ्घत मन्त्राधिराज श्रीमद्भैरव विश्वदेव निदेश प्रोत्साहित वैजालीयाम वास्तव्यश्री-
 बालवशप्रभव श्रीवशिपति मन्त्रोपाध्याय विरचितायामनर्घराघवटीकायां सप्तमोऽङ्कः ॥

Bhairavasimha, like Dhirasimha, is here given the additional virūḍa Kamsa-nārāyaṇa. For Vācāspati Miśra's works one quotation will suffice, viz. the introd. verse 8 in the Madana-nirṇaya (Nep. Notices, p. 123).—

श्रीवाचस्पतिधीर सङ्कारितयां समासाद्य ।

श्रीभैरवेन्द्रवपतिं स्वयं मन्त्रादाननिर्णयं तनुते ॥ २ ॥

Also cf. the Danda-viveka (As. Sec. MS. I. B. 41, page 1) introd. verse 5 :—

उच्छ्रवस्तु प्रखल खंडन पडितेन । श्रीभैरवेण मिथिलाप्रथिवीश्वरेण ॥ तेनानुकस्य
 सहाय्यलोक्यमाना । श्रीवर्धमान कृतिनोऽस्तु कृतिः कृतार्था ॥ ५ ॥

⁴ Cf. the final colophons of the Sudr-ācāra-cintāmaṇi (R. Mitra, Notices, VI, p. 22, No. 20015) and the colophons of the Danda-viveka, (As. Sec. MS., pp. 48, 59, 66, 80, 108)

During the rule of Dhirasimha, Bhairava had by his valour already subjugated the lord of Pañca Gauḍa¹. He is said to have influenced Kedāra Rāya, the representative (pratiśariram) of the lord of Gauḍa. He dug hundreds of tanks, gave away towns and pāttanas (hamlets) as gifts, and performed the Tūlā-purusa-gift ceremony.²

Bhairavendra had a younger brother by name Candra Simha, who is named in Vidyāpati's Durgābhakti-taraṅgini and Miśaru Miśra's Vivāda-candra and Padārtha candra³. He was probably a step brother, for Gadādhara in his Tantra-pradīpa mentions only two sons of Darpanārāyaṇa (Nara-simhadeva), viz. his own grandfather Dhīrasimha and Bhairavendra,⁴ and he would not have omitted Candra-Simha, if the latter had been their uterine brother. Candrasimha had a wife named Lakhinādevī or Lachima Mahādevī at whose instance Miśaru Miśra wrote his two works⁵.

¹ Cf. the Danda-viveka, introd. verse 4 (As Sec MS., p. 1) —

.य. श्रीकुसेनमुपनीतसमस्त सेनम्, आत्मीय सैनिकमिवात्मतेनियुक्ते । गौडेश्वर प्रतिशरीरमति प्रतापः, केदाररायमवगच्छति दारतुल्यम् ॥ ४ ॥

² The Mahādāna-nirṇaya (Nep. Notices p. 112) introd. verse 7 —

विधाय सरसीं शन नगरपतनदीनदात्,
विजित्य भूपतिनदीतटास्तुलापुष्पान् ।
य एष नृप भैरव समर योनिं पञ्चाननो,
जयत्यविधिं दारको जगति राजद्वन्द्वारकः ॥

³ The Durgā bhakti Taraṅgini (Ind. Govt MS 4660, fol. 99a) end verse 3 —

यस्य क्षीर समुद्रमुद्र यमसो रामस्य सौमित्रिवत् ।
क्षीणि मण्डल मण्डनो विजयते श्रीचन्द्रसिंहोऽनुजः ॥ १ ॥

The Vivāda-candra (Sans. Coll. MS. II. 1107, fol. 1a), introd. verses 4 and 5, and the Padārtha-candra (R. Mitra Notices, IX, p. 12 No. 290). In Vidyāpati's Padāvalī is included a song of one Bhanu (No. 322) wishing long life to Candrasimha :—

चन्द्रसिंह नरेश जीवतु
भानु चम्पय रे ॥ ५ ॥

⁴ The Tantra-pradīpa (R. Mitra Notices VI, p. 233, No. 2172), the final verse No. 1, note 2 on page 424.

⁵ The Vivāda candra (Sans. Coll. MS. II. 117, fol. 1a), introd. verse 5 :—

श्रीमल्लहिमादेवौ तस्य चन्द्रसिंह नृपतेर्दयितस्य ।
मिसर मित्रद्वारा रचयति विवाद चन्द्राभिरामम् ॥ ५ ॥

Bhairavendra was succeeded by his son Rāmabhadra-deva, who assumed the virūḍa of Rūpanārāyāna. Rāmabhadra followed in the footsteps of his father in encouraging the study of Sanskrit. Under his patronage, Vācāṣpati Miśra, his pariṣada. wrote in his old age probably his last smṛti work, the Pitrabhakti-taraṅgini, and Varddhamāna compiled at his instance the Gaṅgā kṛtya-viveka and the Tattvāmṛta-sāroddhāra.¹ Śrī Rāma Bhatta while on pilgrimage went from Gaya to Tirabhukti apparently attracted by the fame of this Brahmin king, and after paying a visit to the king, returned to Prayāga (Allahabad), a fact which he noted at the end of the chapters of his commentary on the Sārasvata grammar.²

and the Padārtha-candra introd, verse No. 2 :—

श्रीचन्द्रसिंह वृषतेर्दयिता लक्ष्मिमा मन्दादेवी ।

रचयति पदार्थचन्द्र मिसर मित्रोपदेशेन ॥

The affix Candra is evidently derived from the name of his patron's husband.

¹ Cf. the P. bh. Taraṅgini (Ind. Govt. MS. 897, fol. 84a) the final colophon :—

इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीहरिनारायणात्मज श्रीरूपनारायणपदवीमल्लकृत मिथिला-मण्डलश्रीरामभद्रचरणदिष्टेन परिषदा श्रीवाचस्पतिशर्मणा विरचितोऽयं ब्राह्मकल्पः परिपूर्णः ।

For Varddhamān, cf. the G. K. viveka (Br. Mus. Cat. pp. 75—6), introd. verse 2 and 4 and the final colophon :—

तस्माद् भैरवसिंह भूपतिरभूत् श्रीरामभद्रकृतो ।

दीपाद्वीपइवाभवत् स इव सचाजां गुणैरञ्जितः ॥ ९ ॥

कृते तस्य कृतञ्च स गङ्गाकृतं कर्मणाम् ।

विश्वेकमुद्गातयति वर्जमानो यथागतिः ॥ ४ ॥

The final colophon (p. 76) :—

इति महाराजाधिराज श्रीहरिनारायणात्मज महाराजाधिराज श्रीमहामहदेवपादानां कृते श्रीवर्जमानकृतो गङ्गाकृतविवेकः समाप्तः ॥ खसं ११९ पौषवदि १९ वृष वेङ्गोनोपामे कुवपन्दीगामी-पोषाध्याय श्रीसुरारीणा लिखितैषा पुस्तोति ॥ The Tattv-amṛta Saroddhāra (R. Mitra, Notices VI, p. 57, No. 2030), end verse 4.

तस्माच्चतुर्भि रेभिः कुसुमेरिव गुम्फितो गुणोपचितैः ।

मालेवैष निवन्धो रामपतेः कण्डभूषणं भवतु ॥ ४ ॥

The King is here called Rāmapati.

² For Rāma Bhatta's visit, cf. the Vīdvat-prabodhīni (Ind. Off. Cat., p. 214, No. 804) :—

गयाया निर्गतो रामस्त्रीरभूक्ताख्यदेशपम् ।

रूपनारायणं विभ्रं समुष्टं खगिराकरोत् ॥

रूपनारायणाद् भूपादाज्ञां प्राप्य क्षुताम्बितः ।

तीरभूक्ताख्यदेशाच्च प्रयागं समुपागतः ॥

Rāmabhadra must be older than La. Sam. 376, Pauṣa vadi 13, Wednesday (13th January, 1496 A.D.) when the copying of MS. of the Gaṅgā-kṛtya-viveka was completed. Furthermore Gadādhara wrote the Tantra-pradīpa while Rāmabhadra was ruling, and was therefore his contemporary.¹ At the instance of this prince Gadādhara a MS. of Bhojadeva's Vividha-vidyā-vicāracatura was copied on Friday Srāvaṇa vadi 1 of La. Sam. 372; and a MS. of the Dāna-kaṇḍa of the Kṛtya-kalpa taru was copied in Śakā 1426 and La. Sam. 374 Kārtika Śukla 5 Wednesday.² Gadādhara was therefore living in 1489-93 A.D. and Rāmabhadra³ cannot be placed later than 1490 A.D.

Rāmbhadradeva was succeeded by Lakṣmināthadeva who adopted the viruda of Kanśanārāyaṇa. Under his patronage, Harapati Agamācārya, son of Rucipati who had been patronized by Bhairavendra compiled the Tāntrik work manṭra-pradīpa.⁴

¹ For the Gaṅgā-kṛtya-viveka, cf. note. The Tantra-pradīpa (Mitra, No. 2172), end verse 3 :—

भूपः श्रीरामभद्रो धरणिपुरतट भैरवेन्द्रात्मजम् ।

श्रीशैलेतामिदानीं चतुर्वदधि + + + पूरुसीमां प्रशस्ति ॥ ३ ॥

² Nepal Notices, p. 65 — समस्तोत्पादि महाराजाधिराजवर कुमार श्रीमद्गदाधरदेवपादानामाज्ञया श्रीशुभपतिमिलिखितमिदं पुस्तकमिति । लसं ३७१ । आवण वदि १ शुक्ले श्रीरत्नधर-नगरे । Ind. Govt. MS. 4026 fol. 13 la लसं ३७४ कार्तिक शुद्धि ५ बुधे अजिनौलीग्रामे समस्त प्रक्रिया विरा + + (जमा) ने महावरकुमार श्रीमद्गदाधर सिंहदेवपादानामाज्ञया श्रीशुभ पतिना लिखितमिदं पुस्तकमिति ॥ शाके १४१६ ॥ Then (at the end) गत लक्ष्मणसेन देवीय चतुः सप्ताधिक शतव्याब्दीय कार्तिक शुक्ल पञ्चम्यां रौद्रिण्ये both the MSS. were written by the same copyist Subhupati.

³ This king has been wrongly identified by Professor Bendall with Rāmasimha deva of the Karnāta dynasty (the History of Nepal by C. Bendall, J.A.S.B., 1903, p. 19).

⁴ Cf. the Mantia-pradīpa (R. Mitra, Notices, VI, pp. 34-5) introd. verse 4 and the final colophon :—

श्रीकंसनारायणभूमिपालः सानुग्रहो मे कुरुते निदेशः ।

मन्त्रप्रदीपं कुरुष्वरं त्वं यद्दर्शने मे भवति प्रसीदः ॥ ४ ॥

Its final colophon :—

इति समस्तप्रक्रिया विराजमान शिवभक्तिपरायण महाराजाधिराज श्रीमत् कंसनारायण श्रीमत्कौलायदेव निदेश प्रोत्साहिताज्ञया वीजाश्रीग्रामवासी विख्यात श्रीपालग्रामीण मङ्गलमहोपाध्याय श्रीकृष्णपतिशर्मात्मजागमाचार्य श्रीहरपति विरचिते मन्त्रप्रदीपे पञ्चदशः पटलः

A Maithila MS. of the Devimahātmyam was copied during his reign on Wednesday, La. Sam. 392, Pausa vadi 3, or December 1910 A.D.¹ So this king was ruling at least in 1510 A.D.

Lakṣminātha evidently came into collision with the powerful Sultan Sikandar Lodi of Delhi. In the peace concluded between Ala-ud-din Husain Shah and Sikandar Lodi in H. 901 (1496 A.D.) Bihar and Tirhut appear to have been allotted to the latter, on condition that he would not invade Bengal.² Sikandar Lodi then fell on Tirhut, and reduced its king to submission.³ Later on, about the year 930 H. (1530 A.D.), Ala-ud-din Husain Shah's son and successor, Nasrat Shah, descended upon Tirhut, killed the Rājā and subjugated the whole tract.⁴

It is difficult to ascertain and state the exact date for the rulers of this dynasty, but it may be safely stated that this dynasty flourished between the year 1324 when Firoz Shah Toghlak enthroned

¹ Cf. Nepal Notices, p. 63, final colophon.—

सुसं १८९ पीष वदि १ बुधे महाराज श्रीकंसनारायणदेव प्रचारेण... श्रीवदयकरेण
लिखितेषा पुस्तकानि ॥

² Cf. Makhzan-i-Afghani, translation by Dorn, 1829, Part I, p. 59, and Part II, p. 96.

³ Al-Badaoni writes, "Sultān Husain, leaving his Deputy, i.e. Malik Kandhu (Firishta) in Bihar, could not remain there, but proceeded to Khul Gawna, one of the dependencies of Lakhnauti, and Bihar fell into the hands of Sikandar's troops. Thence the Sultan proceeded to Tirhut and conquered it."

"And in the year 901 H. (1495 A.D.) Khan-i-Jahan Lodi died, and Ahmad Khan his eldest son was styled A'zam Khan Humayun. The Sultan returned from Tirhut and went to pay a visit to the tomb of Qutbu-i-Mashaikhi-i-Izam, i.e. MSS. (AB) (B) in Bihar (Firishta). Shaikh Sharfu-d-Din Muniri (he was the son of Yahya-i-Israil, the head of the Chishtis, a disciple of Gani-i-Shakkar. His burial place is in Bihar, cf. Ain-i-Akbari (J) III, 370) may God sanctify his resting place, and came to Darveshpur. From thence he set out on an expedition against Sultan Alau-d-Din king of Bengala, and in the vicinity of Bihar, the son of Sultan Alau-d-Din, whose name was Danial, in obedience to his father's orders came out to overthrow Sultan (Sikandar), and prepared to oppose him, but they retraced their steps, each one contenting himself with his own territories and consenting to make peace. In this year great scarcity and death occurred in the camp of the Sultan; orders were promulgated remitting the customary tribute of grain in all provinces, in fact they were entirely abolished. From thence he came to the township of Saran, and divided that district among his own followers in perpetuity, and came by way of Mahligarh to Jaunpur, and having spent six months there proceeded to Panna, cf. pages 415-17 of Ranking's Translation of Al-Badaoni Muntakhabu-t-tawarikh, Vol. I (1898 edition).

⁴ Cf. pp. 133-40 of the Riyaz-us-salatin by Ghulam Husain Salim translated by Abdus Salam, Calc. edition, 1902.

Kāmeśvara and the year 1496 when Sikandar Lodi invaded Tirhut.¹ It is not exactly known how this dynasty came to its end. But it is certain that it ceased to exercise independent authority about the year 1530 A.D. Nasrat Shah, king of Bengal, came down upon Tirhut and killed the Rājā and practically made the Kāmeśvara or "Oinwara"² dynasty of Maithila Brāhmaṇas extinct.

It is sometimes doubted if the Kāmeśvara dynasty was ever really independent of the Muhamadan sway. From the fact that Kāmeśvara Thakkura was set in his place by Emperor Firoz Shah Tughlak, it may be safely assumed that the rulers of the dynasty had to pay tribute of some kind to the Delhi Emperors to whom they owed allegiance, though it is doubtful if the tribute was regularly or willingly paid or if the right to payment was always admitted.

The Kāmeśvara dynasty encouraged Sanskrit literature a great deal. The four most prominent writers during the rule of this dynasty are Jagaddhara, Vidyāpati, Śaṅkara and Vācaspati Misra. Jagaddhara commented not only on works so widely varied as the religious *Gītā* and *Devi Mahātmya*, the lyrical *Meghadūta* and *Gīta-govinda*, the dramatic *Mālati-Mādhava* and those romance *Vasava-datta* and the *Śābharana*, but he wrote original *śikha-sarvasva* and on music (the *Samgita*). Vidyāpati's name has come down to posterity in connection with Maithili songs, such as the *Kīrti-latā*, the *Kīrti-patāka* and specially his *Padāvali* (i.e. anthropology) songs that stirred up the later Vaiṣṇava writers and preachers of Bengal. But he wrote also on *Smṛti* (*Bibhāgasāra*, *Gaṅga-vākya-āvali* and *Dāna-*

¹ A full account of this invasion is given in Ranking's Translation of *Bādāoni*, Vol. I, pp. 415-17 (1898), and also in *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, translated by Dorn, 1829, Part I, p. 59, and Part II, p. 96, and in the 'Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi,' Thomas, p. 391.

² This dynasty is popularly known as the "Oinwara" family, as the first founder of this family was Oinwara, whom popular tradition calls the great-grandfather of Kāmeśvara Thakkura, who is said to have established his principality with the help of the Kāmeśvara's descendants at village Oini in the Gaṅga district. This family in Tirhut cannot be identified as lineally descended from

vākya-avali), on Niti or moral tales (Bhu-parikramana and Puruṣa-parikṣā), on Pujā (Śaiva sarvasva-sāra and Durga-bhakti tarāṅgini), and on literary compositions (Likhana-avali).

The fact, generally speaking, was that Tirhut being comparatively free from foreign invasion, was able to give protection to a large number of scholars from adjoining countries, such as Oudh, Bihar and Bengal, which were being ravaged by invaders. This cultivation of Sanskrit scholarship in the 13th century A.D. in Tirhut had a marked effect on Bengal as people used to come in large numbers to Mithilā to learn the Śāstrās.

It may be incidentally mentioned here that it is thought that prince Indra Sena¹, writer of "Śāli-hotra-sāra-saṅgraha" and whose viruda was Rupanāyana belonged to this family. But it is not exactly known when he lived and what link he formed in the (Kāmeśwara) line.

It is not clearly known if any local family took the place of the ruling Kāmeśwara dynasty in Mithilā on its dismemberment or whether this dynasty ruled all over Mithilā. It appears, however, that one Rājā Prthvi Siṃha Deva reigned in Ch¹ 1492 (=1434-5 A.D.). His successor was followed by his son Madan²

¹ Cf. p. 19 of Bendall's History of Nepal and the surrounding kingdoms, also p. 265, Catalogue of palm-leaf Sanskrit manuscripts in the Nepal Darbar Library by H. P. Sāstri, 1905. The final colophon of the "Śāli-hotra-Sāra-saṅgraha" is:—

इति श्रीरूपनारायण इत्यादे महाराजाधिराज श्रीहर्षसेन कृती सारसंग्रहं शान्तिं होतुं समाप्तः । शुभम् । श्री शके १७२४, श्री सम्वत् १८४१ आषाढ कृष्ण पक्षस्य सप्तम्याम् भौम् वासरे ।

² Cf. "Devimahātmyam, which was copied in the reign of Prthvi Siṃha in Vikrama Samvat 1492 (= 1434-5 A.D.) at Champakāranya nagaram, p. 61 (S.) Manuscript No. 1508, of the Catalogue of palm-leaf Sanskrit manuscripts in the Nepal Darbar Library, by H. P. Sāstri, 1905.

देवी साक्षात्सम् नागराक्षरम् सम्वत् १४९२ भाद्र शुद्धि महाराज प्रह्वी सिद्धदेवमुच्यमान राख्ये चम्पकारण्य नगरे । शुभम् ।

³ Cf. Amara Kosa in Bengali character, p. 51, the Catalogue of palm-leaf Sanskrit manuscripts in the Nepal Darbar Library, by H. P. Sāstri, 1905. particularly the colophon:—

विः सम्वत् १४९१ आषाढ शुक्ल नवम्याम् शके १७२३ भाद्र शुद्धि महाराज देव्या

Champaran and Gorakhpur. It is certain that Madan Simha was reigning about 1454 if not much later and wrote a work called *Kāmeśvara-pradīpa*,¹ but it is not known to what family he belonged or how they came to gain possession of their kingdom. Far, if at all, they were dependent on superior rulers, Hindu or Muhammadan. It is probable that they were local Chieftains who ruled over Champaran and Gorakhpur, which borders on Champaran, but it cannot be said with anything, they had to do with the Kameśwara family, the older ruling family of Nānya Deva. It may also be mentioned that the Aśoka pillar at Latānānandangarha in Champaran contains an inscription dated Vikram Samvat 1556 (=1500 A.D.) which says, "Nrpa-Nārāyaṇa suta Nrpa Amara Simha." It is not known who this Nārāyaṇa and Amara Simha were and how they were connected with the other ruling families. It is safe then only to assume that they were local Chieftains ruling in different parts of the country and there may have been other Chieftains (not yet known to us) like them.

Local Chieftains

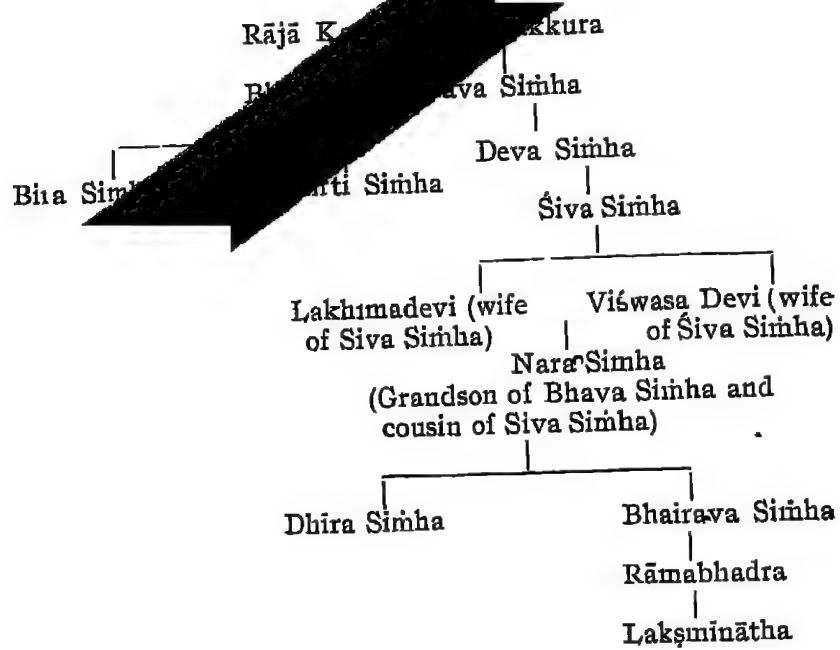
Geographical table of the Kāmeśwara dynasty (based on Pañjīs). Cf. the Indian Antiquary, Vol. 14, p. 6, also the "Chronology of India" by C. M. ...

Adhirupa Thakkura
|
Viśwesvara Thakkura
|
Govinda Thakkura
|
Lakṣman Thakkura
|
Rāja Kameśwara Thakkura

राज्ये विराजमान महाराजाधिराज श्रीमन्मदनसिंहदेवानाम् समुज्जमान
श्री गङ्गा.....लिखितम्—इति ।
... of Nara Simha Purāṇa on p. 29 of the same catalogue
... सुदि पद्याम् रवि वासर महाराजाधिराज श्रीमन्मदनसिंह देवानाम्
गोरक्षपुरे सिपाह कवके सदुपाध्याय श्रीरुद्रनाथ शर्मभिः नारसिंहाय सः

The Catalogue (which quotes the colophon) :—

श्रीमन्मदनसिंह महाराजाधिराज मदन सिंहदेव विरचिते मदनदीपप्रदीपे
...सम्बत् ८४८ (नेवर्)



PART IV.

TIRHUT UNDER MUHAMMADAN AND BRITISH RULE FROM THE 13TH TO THE 19TH CENTURY A.D.

CHAPTER I.

MUSLIM INFLUENCE IN TIRHUT FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE 13TH TO THE END OF THE 16TH CENTURY.

Muslim historians tell us that Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlak, Emperor of Delhi, invaded Tirhut about 1322 A.D. and established the supremacy of the Muslim rule over the whole country. Tirhut henceforth became a dependency of Delhi. He and his successors, Emperor Firoz Shah Tughlak, placed the whole on Mithila under Kāmeśvara Thakkura who became the pp. 187, 191 the Thakkura dynasty which ruled over Tirhut Duff, p. 305 for centuries till the middle of the 16th century.¹

rs later, Firoz Shah marched on Bengal to

in force on the opposite side (probably at to have been founded by the then Bengal yas Shah). So the Sultan marched up the ośa, and below Champaran, where the river rable, crossed it by a living bridge of via Champaran and Racap he moved on

Barni² Firoz Shah left Delhi on 10th

सोत्यादि विविध विषय
विजयराज राजे उक्त

Also the colop

असं ३३८ वा

विजयिनाम् शक्ति
पुराण लेखि

Of p. 299 of

रति बीजी

विजयिनाम्

¹ Firoz Shāhi, Elliot, Vol. III, pp. 234-5, also cf. Account of Kāmeśvara, Chap. X.
² Firoz Shāhi, by Shams-i-Siraj-Afif-Elliot, Vol. III, pp. (293-4).
pp. 292-294. Also cf. pp. 91-105 of Riyazu-s-Salatin, trans-
Calcutta, 1902 edition, and also pp. 448-51 of the History
Muhammadan Power in India till the year 1512 A.D. translated
Calcutta, 1908 edition, Vol. I.

Shawwal 754 H. (8th November, 1353 A.D.) and returned to it on 12th Sha'ban 755 H (1st September, A.D. 1355) The march through Tirhut took place therefore in the winter of 1354-5 A.D. In the winter, the rivers would have fallen low and would therefore be favourable to the crossing of cavalry and elephants. Barni's Kharosa lying between Gorakhpur and Tirhut is probably to be identified with Champaran (Sansk. Champak-aranya).

After this Tirhut continued to be under the overlordship of Delhi. On the defeat and death of Ibrahim Lodi, son of Sikandar Lodi, at the battle of Panipat in H. 932 or 1526 A.D., Babar became the Emperor of Delhi. He has left in his Memoirs a list of countries subject to him and their approximate revenues. In this list appears Rājā (No. 22 or 23) Rūp-Nārāyaṇa (of Tirhut) who paid a tribute of Rs. 2,50,000 silver tankas and 27,50,000 black tankas or at 10 per silver tanka 2,75,000, in all 5,25,000 silver tankas. It would thus appear that Tirhut remained under the Hindu Rājā in his time subject to the payment of Khidmatana or Tribute.¹

Tirhut a fief of Mullik Bir
Afghan, 1378 A.D.

It appears that in the year 1378
(1398 A.D.) the fief of Bir

to Khwaja Jahan by Sul-
tan Muhammad Shah,
1396 A.D.

Sultan Mahmud Shah
of Bihar and Tirhut ab-
796 H. (1396 A.D.) to Kh

It appears that sometimes Tirhut has been

Babar's reference to Zila-
ran (Champaran).

separately from Bihar and
only Bihar has been men-
bar mentions that the c

Baharā to Bihar were in his possession at a re-
venue of 52 crors. He has mentioned the

¹ Cf. pp. 430-31 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of
November and December, 1915, also Erskine's Baber and Humayun
and Thomas's Pathan Kings, p. 390, and Elliot, Vol. IV, p.

² Tarikh-i-Mubarak-Shahi of Yahya Bin Ahmad, Elliot.

³ Tarikh-i-Mubarak-Shahi of Yahya Bin Ahmad, Elliot.

Bihar separately from that of Ziparan which is now taken to mean Champaran.¹

Al-Badaoni says that Sultan Muhammad Shah in the year 796 H. (1396 A.D.) appointed Khwaja-i-Jahan, Governor of Bihar. He proceeded as far as Jainagar and took possession of it, acquiring a large number of elephants and much valuable property, and from that time the king of Lakhnauti began to send elephants annually as present to Delhi.

Al-Badaoni says that Haji Ilyas was the ruler of Lakhnauti and a contemporary of Sultan Muhammad and Sultan Firoz Shah Toghlak and assumed the title of Sultan Sams-ud-din. He used to send presents now and then to the Delhi Emperor but was virtually independent.²

He also rebuilt the greater number of the forts which the infidels (i.e. non-Muslims or Hindus) had destroyed in Tirhut.³ It is probable that the Muslims definitely occupied the southern portion of Tirhut though authentic history is wanting. Hajipur was a most important place in Tirhut during the Muhammadan period. The town was founded by Haji Ilyas. He built a strong fortress there and rebelled against the Emperor Shah Toghlak. Firoz Shah came upon Tirhut about the year 1353 and compelled Haji Ilyas to retreat to Pandua.⁴

It appears that towards the end of the 14th century, the kings of Jaunpur came over and occupied Bihar and Tirhut for about a century.⁵ But towards the end of the 15th century, Sultan Sikandar ibn Sultan Bahlol Lodi, Emperor of Delhi, advanced upon Bihar and Bengal, defeated Husain Shah Sharqi near Patna and occupied Bihar, Tirhut and Saran. There-

¹ Cf. Tuzak-i-Babai, Elliot's Vol. IV, p. 262.

² Cf. pp. 309, 324, 317 of Al Badaoni, Vol. I.

³ Mu'akhhabat-Tawarikh by Al-Badaoni, Vol. I, pp. 348-49 (1898 edition).

⁴ Cf. pp. 98-103 of Riyaz-us-Salatun translated by M. Abdus Salam, Calcutta, 1902 edition.

⁵ Cf. p. 114, do. Also J. Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, 365.

upon Sikandār Lodi swept over Tirhut and exacted a heavy fine from the Rājā of Tirhut. It was either Rāmabhadra or Roopa Nārāyaṇa who is said to have ruled over Tirhut in 1495 when the Gaṅgā Kṛtya-viveka was composed.¹ But it will appear that after about 30 years, Nasrat Shah (son of Ala-uddin-Husain Shah, king of Bengal, came down upon Tirhut, put the Rājā of Tirhut (Raja Kansanārāyaṇa² or his successor) to death and appointed Allauddin its governor and extended his kingdom across the river Gogrā into the district of Azamgarh in the United Provinces. His son-in-law Makhdum Alam was put in charge of the fortress at Hajipur. About the year 1540, Makhdum Alam revolted against Mahmud Shah, son of Nasrat Shah,³ and joined hands with the Pathan adventurer, Sher Shah of Sasram, in the district of Shahabad who aspired to the throne of Delhi.⁴

In the Persian book Wakiat-i-Mushtaki by Sheikh Rajkula Mustaki, there is an account of a portion of Tirhut (Champaran) in the reign of Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517). It will appear that Mian Husain Farmuli was jagirdar of Saran and Champaran, which were called *jalkhet* or the field of water, and he had taken no less than 20,000 villages from the infidels, besides those comprising his *jagir*. When he marched to attack the Rājā of Champaran, he found his advance checked by a flood of the Gaṇḍak and was obliged to encamp on its banks, while the Rājā remained secure in this fort on the other side of the river. One of his nobles, Mughula Kirani, however, was not daunted by this obstacle, though he was told that the breadth of the river was 7 *koṣa* (14 miles). Having taken a vow to abstain from food and

¹ Cf. Muntakhabut-t-Tawarikh of Al-Badaoni, translated by Ranking, 1895, Vol. I, pp. 415-17.

Also Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan-Lodi by Niamattullah—Elliot, pp 95-6, Vol. V, 1873.

Also Makhzan-i-Afghani, translated by Dorn 1829, Part I, p. 59, and Part II, p. 96.

For Gaṅgā Kṛtya Viveka cf footnote p

² Cf. footnote p.

³ Cf. pp. 133-46 of the Riyaz-us-Salatin, by Ghulam Hussain Salim translated by Abdus Salam, Calcutta edition, 1902, also the Sikandarpur-Azamgarh inscription, Journal, Asiatic Society, 1973, page 296.

⁴ Cf. pp 537, 553, 555, 560, 572 of the 'History of the Rise of the Mohammadan Power in India till the year 1612 A D,' translated from Ferishta by J. Briggs, Calcutta, 1908 edition, Vol. I.

drink until he had attacked the Rājā, he mounted his horse and plunged into the river. Stimulated by this example, Mian Husain and the whole army began to cross the Gandak, and at sunset dashed upon the Rājā who had been lulled into security by the thought that he was protected from attack by the flooded state of the Gandak. "Suddenly," it is said, "an uproar rose in the city, for it was reported from the watch-tower that the Afghans had arrived; but the infidel did not credit it and was engaged in his pastimes, when the Afghans were upon him and forced him to fly for his life. By the will of God that day Mughula Kirani became a martyr. Mian Husain greatly lamented his loss, and said, 'Would to God that to-day there had been no victory, for that and the plunder combined are no compensation for the loss sustained in the death of Mughula.' Thus after a duration of 200 years, destruction fell upon the kingdom of the Rājā and all the riches and treasures which were amassed during that period were dispersed in plunder. The shoes of the infidels who lost their lives in this action were collected, and when melted down, no less than 20,000 mohurs of gold were obtained from them."

It appears that Hajipur was a strong position even in Babar's time (i.e. Sikandar Lodi's time). Sher Khan (later Sultan Sher Shah, on his flight from Babar's court, came to his zamindari in Sasaram and entered into a compact of friendship with Makdum Alam of Hajipur. Sher Shah defeated the enemies of this Makdum Alam who was afterwards very useful to him in his campaign against the Moghals¹

Sher Shah of Sasram helped by the ruler of Hajipur.

Later on, the emperor Humayun ordered Mirza Hindal to cross the river Ganges with his forces to capture Hajipur which was one of the main strong-holds of Sher Khan. This was about the year 943 H. (1547

Hajipur captured in the year 1543 under the orders of Emperor Humayun.

A.D.).²

After Muhammad Shah, the Delhi Crown appointed several governors from time to time to rule over Tirhut.

¹ Page 469-70 of Ranking's Translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. I (1898 edition).

² Do. do do do.

Several Pathan families had settled down in Tirhut and when Daud Khan, the Pathan, rose and revolted against the Delhi Emperor about the year 1575, these Pathans swelled his forces. Khankhanā was deputed by Emperor Akbar to crush Daud Khan and he requested all Moghal and Pathan Chiefs to assist him.¹ It is said that the great emperor watched the fight at Hajipur personally from the southern bank of the Ganges at Patna. It was a hard struggle but victory sided with Akbar.

*The fight at Hajipur in
Emperor Akbar's time,
1575 A.D.*

In 982 H. (1582 A.D.) after the death of Sulaiman Afghan Karani, the ruler of Bengal, his son Bayazid succeeded him for a time, but he soon became unpopular and was murdered. Daud, the younger son of Sulaiman, then assumed the title of king but omitted to secure royal assent to his accession. The emperor Akbar who heard of Sulaiman's death and Daud's accession to power before he was assured of his loyalty, deputed Khan Khana Muhim Khan. The Khan Khana levied a large army, but having obtained two lacs of rupees and other goods and precious things as tribute from Daud, who was then at Hajipur, settled the matter peaceably and returned. Daud had superiority over the Moghals in numbers but he failed to strike the first blow and after concluding this mirage of peace, he established himself in the fort of Patna. But he began to oppress his subjects and soon lost the confidence of his followers. Having heard of this good opportunity, Khan Khana informed Akbar, who appointed Mirza Yusuf Khan to the command of the army and sent him forward by land, and himself set off from Agra by the river Ganges.²

The Emperor encamped near Patna and despatched

¹ Cf. *Riyazu s-Salat* by M. Abdul Salam, Calcutta, 1902 edition, p. 122, which shows that the Imperial forces from Bihar, Tirhut and Hajipur were deputed to crush Daud.

Also cf. pp. 245-253 of 'The History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Powers in India till the year 1612 A.D.' translated from *Ferishta* by J. Briggs, Calcutta, 1908 edition, Vol. I.

² Cf. Lowe's translation of *Al-Badaoni*, Vol. II, 1884 edition, pp. 176-78 ;

"The horse of your fortune was under your thigh,
If you did not make haste, what could one do !
The dice of life were to your wishes,
But you played badly, what could one do !"

3,000 fully equipped horsemen in charge of Khan-i-Azam in boats across the Ganges for taking the fortress of Hajipur from which place aid used to come to the men of Patna. Raja Kachiti¹ was appointed to go to the assistance of Khan-i-Azam with a large army. Thus they surrounded Hajipur both by land and by water. The Emperor stationed himself on a high eminence by the water-side to view the battle. On the other side, Fatch Khan Barha with a strong body of Afghans was maintaining an obstinate resistance. But he fell, and the fortress was taken by assault. The heads of the chiefs, together with the heads of others, were put into a boat and sent to the Emperor, who sent them to Daud in the fort at Patna so that they might prove to him a warning and scare.² Daud fled from Patna in desperation and was afterwards chased beyond Gauda and destroyed. But soon after this, Gajapati, a zamindar of the neighbourhood of Hajipur and Patna, who had been subjugated, rebelled, and the Emperor started to take the field against him in person and eventually subdued him.³

The Emperor appointed Khan-i-A'zam as Governor of Bengal⁴ and Tirhut. Shahbaz Khan was appointed with a well-equipped army to assist Khan-i-A'zam, with orders that he should proceed to the confines of Hajipur and traversing the jungle of Kachiti (Gajapati?) should compel Arab Bahadur to come out of that place.⁵

It will appear that Hajipur was the base for all the Imperial operations in Bengal and Orissa and even for some time in the Western Provinces and Akbar had special regard for this place.⁶

Towards the close of Akbar's reign A'zam Khan returned from Makkah, and joined the new faith inaugurated by Akbar, performing the *sijdah*, and following all other rules of discipleship. He cut off

Hajipur as a military base.

Hajipur conferred as a jagir on A'zam Khan who embraced Akbar's new religion.

¹ Tabaqat-i-Akbari (Elliot, V, 377) has Gajpati.

² Cf. Lowe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. II, pp. 182-83.

³ Cf. Lowe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. II, 1884 edition, pp. 244-45.

⁴ Cf. Elliot, V, p. 410, note

⁵ Cf. page 293 of Lowe's translation of Al Badaoni, Vol. II

⁶ Reference may be had to pp 290, 320, 344, 353, etc., of Lowe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. II, 1884 edition

his beard and learnt the rules of the new faith from His Reverence 'Allami, and received Ghazipur and Hajipur as jagir.¹

Fresh rebellion at Hajipur suppressed by Todar Mall

Hajipur again figured in the rebellion of Kak Shah jagirdar of Bihar and Bengal, and Todar Mall was sent to suppress the rebellion.²

It is related that Muzaffar Khan, whose deputy at Hajipur, Mir Saukiti, was killed by some rebels, again put Hajipur in order, and dispersed the rebels with the aid of Raja Udikarana, the zamindar of Champaran.³

Tirhut with the rest of Bihar enjoyed peace under the Moghal rule. Several jagirs were conferred upon Pathans and other loyal families in Tirhut who, up to this day, are in enjoyment of these jagirs.

In the Hijri year 996 (1560 A.D.) Manasinha was appointed to the government of Bihar, Hajipur and Patna.⁴

Towards the close of his reign, the Emperor Akbar appointed Mulla Taib of Kaithal Dewan of the Province of Bihar and Hajipur. It also appears that Raja Todar Mall and other Imperial nobles passed the rainy season one year towards the close of Akbar's reign at Hajipur.⁵

At the time that the Emperor went to Kabul (about 1600 A.D.) towards the close of his reign to set matters right there, Bahadur, son of Badakhshi had the *Khutbah* read, and coins struck, in his name in the district of Tirhut, and took the title of Bahadur Shah. It is said that the following rhyme was composed for his signet :—

Bahadur Shah's meteoric career as a ruler of Tirhut.

" Bahadur-ud-din Sultan
Son of Asfid Shah Sultan.
His father was Sultan, and himself Sultan,
Bravo ! Sultan bin Sultan "

The *Ain-i-Akbari* says, " In the Sirkar of Hajipur the fruits Katalah and Barahal grow in abundance." The former attain such a size that a man can with difficulty carry one " (*Ain-i-Akbari*, translated by Jarrett, p. 152, Vol. III, Bibliotheca Indica edition, 1910.

¹ Cf. p. 412 of Lowe's translation of *Al-Badaoni*, Vol. II

² *Tabakat-i-Akbari* of Nizamu-d Din-Ahmad, Elliot, Vol. V, p. 417.

³ Pp. 39 and 49 of *Akbar-Nama* of Abul Fazl, Elliot, Vol. VII, 1875 edition.

⁴ P. 375 of Lowe's translation of *Al-Badaoni*, Vol. II, 1884 edition.

⁵ Pp. 274 and 297 of do. do.

Eventually he was slain by the servants of A'zam Khan :—

" A base person, when dignity, and gold, and silver
come to him
Requies of necessity a slap on the head
Have you not heard what Plato said,
It is best for the ant that its wings should not
grow."

The Ain-i-Akbari (written about 1590 A.D.) during
Emperor Akbar's lifetime, gives an
Tirhut in Ain-i-Akbar. attractive account of Tirhut, its curd,
its buffalo and its fruits and says that rent was paid in
cash and not by division of crops.

CHAPTER II.

MUHAMMADAN RULE IN TIRHUT DURING THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES A.D.

There is no succinct history of Tirhut during the 16th and 17th centuries. During these centuries, Tirhut consisted of three main divisions, i.e. Hajipur, Champaran and Tirhut. The Ain-i-Akbari (written about 1590 A.D.) gives the following figures¹ :—

Name of Sircars.	Number of Mahals included in Sircar.	Area in Bighas ²	Revenue in rupees.
Champaran	3	85,711	1,37,835
Hajipur	11	436,953	6,83,276
Tirhut	74	266,464	4,79,494

¹ Pp. 307 of Lowe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. II, 1884 edition.

² Cf. pp. 43, 88, 149 to 156 of Vol. II of Ain-i-Akbari, translated by Jarrett, Calcutta edition, Bibliotheca Indica, 1910; also cf. p. 1 of "India of Aurangzib," by J. N. Sirkar, Calcutta edition, 1901.

³ A bigha was equal to 538 of an acre—Cf. paras. 79 also and 84, pp. 19 and 30 of the Muzaffarpur Settlement Report by Mr. C. J. Stevenson Moore, 1901.

The Ain-i-Akbari tells us that the assessment was made under the supervision of Todarmall, Akbar's Prime Minister in the year 1582 after actual measurement and that Government revenue was fixed at $\frac{1}{3}$ of the produce. The duties¹ of the Revenue Collectors were carefully defined.

During Akbar's time (1556-1605 A.D.) as depicted in Ain-i-Akbari, separate sircars of Tirhut, Champaran, etc., and Bihar (on the southern side of the Ganges) are mentioned.²

Though we know that, for purely revenue adjustments, Tirhut used to be mentioned separately not only from Bihar but separately even from Hajipur and Champaran,³ it seems that Tirhut was not governed separately from Patna and Bihar after Emperor Jahangir's time (1605-1627 A.D.). There is no mention of revenue of Tirhut separately from that of Bihar in the time of Shah Jahan.⁴

Mir-at-i 'Alam, writing about the time of Aurangzeb (1660-1707 A.D.) says that Bihar included 252 mahals and makes it clear that for all broad purposes, Tirhut formed part of Bihar.⁵

Todarmall's assessment was revised during Emperor

¹ "The Collector of Revenue," says the Ain, "should be a friend of the agriculturist. Zeal and truthfulness should be his rule of conduct. He should consider himself the representative of the lord-paramount, and establish himself where every one may have easy access to him without the intervention of a mediator. He should deal with the contumacious and the dishonest by admonition, and if this avail not, proceed to chastisement, nor should he be in apprehension of the land falling waste. He should assist the needy husbandman with advances of money, and recover them gradually (system of agricultural loans)."

"The agricultural value of land varies in different districts, and certain soils are adapted to certain crops. He should deal differently, therefore, with each agriculturist and take his case into consideration. Let him increase the facilities of the husbandman year by year, and under the pledge of his engagement take nothing beyond the actual area under tillage. Let him not make it a practice of taking only in cash payments, but also in kind. He should be just and provident in his measurement."

"The Collector should see that no capitation tax be imposed nor interfere with the remission of dues granted by former governments. He shall refrain from accepting presents. He shall also waive all perquisites on handicrafts, market, police, travelling passports, garden produce, temporary sheds, enclosures, fishing rights, post dues, butter, oil of sesame, blanketing, and wool." Cf. pp. 43-5 of Ain-i-Akbari.

² Cf. India of Aurangzeb by J. N. Sirkar (1901 edn.), p. 50.

³ Cf. Do p. li

⁴ Cf. Majalis-u-Salatun of Muhammad Sharif Hanafi, Elliot, Vol. VII, pp. 137-38.

⁵ Cf. Elliot, Vol. VII, 1877 edn., p. 64.

Aurangzeb's reign in the year 1685¹ We learn that the following increase in the revenue took place :—

	From	To
	Rs.	Rs.
Champaran ..	1,37,835	2,10,151
Hajipur ..	6,83,276	10,29,309
Tirhut ² ..	4,79,494	7,69,287

Thereafter we have on the authority of Chahar-Gulsan that in the year (1720) the revenues³ of the three Sircars were as noted below against their names :—

<i>Names of Sircars.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i>
Champaian	2,40,603
Hajipur	11,33,185
Tirhut	7,37,080

Khulasatu-t-Tawarikh written in the 17th century has much praise for Tirhut.

"Tirhut has long been a seat of learning and a centre of Hindu culture. Its climate is excellent. The curd of this place remains unchanged and pleasant to the

Account of Tirhut-Khulasatu-t-Tawarikh.

taste for one month. If any milkman adulterates his milk with water, some calamity from the invisible world visits him. Its buffaloes are so strong that the tiger can not hunt them. In the rainy season, owing to excess of water, the deer, the elk, and the tiger come down together to inhabited places, and men have the pleasure of hunting.

"In the district of Champaran, they sow the seed of the vetch *mash* without ploughing the soil, and it grows without the labour of cultivation. The long pepper grows abundantly in its jungle."⁴

It appears from all accounts that Tirhut together with the rest of Bihar formed part of Bengal in the 18th

¹ Para. 89, p. 22 of the Champaran Settlement Report, 1900, and para. 91, p. 31 of the Muzaffarpur Settlement Report, 1901, by C. J. Stevenson Moore.

² Number of Mahals increased from 74 to 102. Cf. para 91, p. 31 of the Muzaffarpur Settlement Report, 1901, by C. J. Stevenson Moore.

³ P. 1 of "India of Aurangzeb," by J. N. Sircar, 1901 edition.

Also cf. p. 134 of the Chahar Gulsan, by Ray Chatar Chand Kayastha, written in the year 1173 H (1759 A.D.) in the same book.

⁴ Cf. p. 37 of India of Aurangzeb, by J. N. Sircar (1902).

This account seems to be borrowed from the Ain-i-Akbari, cf. the Ain-i-Akbari, translated by Jarret, Vol. III, p. 152, Bibliotheca Indica edition, 1910.

century and was ruled (in allegiance to the Delhi Emperor) by the Nawabs of Murshidabad who used to have a Deputy Governor at Patna.¹

A revision of Tirhut along with the rest of the Province took place about the year 1750 when Alivardi Khan was the ruler of Tirhut along with the rest of Bengal and Bihar. By this settlement the assessment in Tirhut with 93 parganas was increased to Rs. 8,20,042 and that of Hajipur was reduced to Rs. 8,28,120. In Champaran the revised assessment² was Rs. 2,06,822. It will thus appear on the whole that there was some decrease in the assessment.

It may be interesting to note here that Ali Vardi Khan had been to Bettiah to quell the rebellious Rājā in the year 1730. While at Patna as Governor of Bihar under Suja-uddin the Nawab of Murshidabad, he heard an unsatisfactory report regarding this part of the country. It was infested by a band of robbers, called Banjaras, who, in the guise of peaceful traders and travellers, laid the country under contribution and plundered right and left. The zamindars of Bettiah and other places were also in a state of insurrection and had for some time set at defiance the authority of the Governor. In order to reduce these marauders and rebels, Ali Vardi Khan took into his service a body of Afghans under Abdul Karim Khan, who is described as the chief of the Afghans of Darbhanga, and first sent them against the Banjaras. The expedition was successful, the Banjaras were routed, made to disgorge their plunder, and driven out of the country. Then, according to the Riyazu-s-Salatin,³ "Ali Vardi Khan, being aided by the Afghans, advanced with his forces against the tracts of the Rājās of Bettiah and Bhawarah, who were refractory and turbulent. Their region had never previously been trodden by the feet of the armies of former Nazims, nor had their proud heads ever bent before to any of the former Subadars. Indeed, they had never before paid the imperial revenues and taxes. After

¹ Para. 93, p. 33 of Muzaffarpur Settlement Report, by C. J. Stevenson Moore, 1901, and para. 90, p. 22 of the Champaran Settlement Report by C. J. Stevenson Moore, 1901 edition. [1902.]

² Cf. Riyaz-us-Salatin, translated by Abdus Salam, pp. 296-7, Calcutta edition,

³ Sair-ul-Mutakharim, Raymond's translation (reprinted, Calcutta, 1902), Vol. II, p. 58.

fighting with them incessantly, Ali Vardi Khan became victorious and triumphant. Raiding and pillaging their tracts, Ali Vardi Khan carried off a large booty, amounting to several lakhs in specie and other effects; and settling with the Rājās the amounts of tribute, presents and the imperial revenue, he raised an immense sum. The soldiery also were enriched by the booty; and the strength of Ali Vardi's administration increased.

About the disruption of the Moghal Empire, the Afghan Chiefs of Tirhut began to intrigue with the Mahrattas, who were invading Bengal and eventually sided with Mustaffar Khan, the rebellious General of Ali Vardi Khan in the year 1745. They, however, placed Jainuddin or Hiyabat, a son-in-law of Ali Vardi Khan as a Governor of Bihar. The Governor received them in a Darbar in Patna but towards the conclusion of the ceremony, the Afghan Chiefs mercilessly assassinated him. They sacked the city and its suburb, looted treasures, dishonoured, women and children, desolated villages, etc., etc. The Mahrattas joined and reinforced them. At last Ali Vardi Khan started at the head of a big army and defeated them near Barh. The Afghan ring-leaders were killed. Ali Vardi Khan captured their women but sent them to Darbhanga honourably and settled *jagirs* on them for maintenance. The Mahrattas were put to desperate flight.

At Patna, Ali Vardi Khan received a message from the Rājā of Bettiah, saying that he had given shelter to the families of Shamsheer Khan and Sardar Khan, Afghan leaders, and was ready to pay the Nawab 3 lakhs of rupees if he would agree not to demand their surrender. The Nawab refused to treat with him, insisted on the unconditional surrender of the families of the Afghan Chiefs, and advanced towards Bettiah to enforce his demands. The Rājā thereupon quietly gave up the wife and daughter of Shamsheer Khan, who were treated with the utmost courtesy by Ali Vardi Khan.¹

¹ *Jamīn-t-Tawārīkh* gives a description of Miran (near Hajipur), son of Mir Muhammad Jaffar Khan, who was set on the Bengal *Gaddi* by Lord Clive after the battle of Plassey (1170 A.H. = 1757 A.D.).

In the year 1760 the Emperor Shah Alam who was incited to overthrow the growing influence of the British East India Company was engaged in the invasion of Bihar and Khadim Husain Khan, the Governor of Purnea, marched to join him with an army composed of 6,000 horse, 10,000 foot, and 40 pieces canon. Before, however, he could effect a junction with the Emperor, Captain Knox had marched to the relief of Patna and driven off the besieging force. He followed up this blow by defeating the Governor of Purnea at Hajipur, and Khadim Husain fled precipitately northwards towards Bettiah. Shortly after this, a force commanded by Major Caillaud, and Miran, the son of Mir Jafar Khan, who was placed on the seat of Governor of Bengal after the battle of Plassey in 1757 A.D., hurried up and set out in pursuit. In an action fought on the 25th June, the enemy were routed, leaving behind their guns, a large quantity of ammunition and stores, and all their heavy baggage. The rains had now set in, the Gandak was in flood, and Khadim Hussain Khan was unable to procure boats and cross it. He, therefore, fell back towards the hills, closely pressed by Caillaud and Miran; and here his army lost their way and were dispersed in the dense forest." At daybreak," it is said, "his people could not discover the morning star, and concluded that it must be hidden by the chain of mountains close to which they supposed themselves to be." Their position was, in fact, desperate, with a river in front, an enemy in their rear, and the soldiers dispirited and scattered; but fortunately for them, the plans of the invading force were completely altered by Miran being struck by lightning while sleeping in his tent near Bettiah.¹

¹ Miran was preparing to attack Khadim Hussain Khan, nephew of Mir Muhammad Jaffar Khan, who was at that time raising disturbances on the other side of 'Azimabad' (Patna). Having conceived some suspicion of the two daughters of Mahabat Jang, he ordered them to be conveyed in a boat to the middle of the river, and to be there thrown overboard; in the meantime making the Begams believe that they were to go to Murshidabad. When Amina Begam and Ghasiti Begam were taken to the appointed place, they were informed of the cause of their being conveyed thither. The two sisters after bathing and putting on clean clothes cursed Miran, saying "O God, we have done no harm to Miran, who, having brought ruin on our family, and deprived our brothers of their rights, is now about to put us to death. We pray that he may soon be struck dead by lightning for his cruel deeds. Their prayer was heard; for Miran, after arriving

Thereupon Caillaud, on whom the command of the allied forces now devolved, abandoned the campaign. He moved the army before the fort of Bettiah, received the submission of the Rājā, and then marched off to Patna¹

In 1762 Mir Kasim Ali had to send an expedition against the Rājā of Bettiah. "The command of it," says the author of the *Sairul-Mutakharin*, "was given to Bahadur Ali Khan, who had been for a long time Grand-master of Artillery to Ali Vardi Khan and now enjoyed a small part of that office under Mir Kasim Khan. He had with him several commanders with their corps, together with some pieces of canon in the English fashion, and some regiments of Talingas, disciplined by Gurgan Khan. His orders were to take the fortress of that name, and to chastise the zamindar of that country, who had proved unruly." This expedition appears to have been completely successful, for we learn later from the same work that, as the fortress of Bettiah had been taken but recently and the country had been but lately brought under control, the Nawab availed himself of the pretence of establishing order in that region to set out on an expedition against Nepal.

This expedition, it is said, was undertaken at the instigation of the Nawab's Armenian General, Gurgan Khan. "As the country of Nepal was known to produce gold, as well as to be full of riches, Gurgan Khan, who had as much ambition as covetousness in his composition, wished to undertake an expedition thither. But he had another object in view; he wanted also to make a trial of the troops which he had disciplined, and of the artillery which he had trained. With this view, he had long before commenced connec-

Invasion of Nepal under General Gurgan Khan during Mir Kasim Ali's regime.

in the vicinity of Hajipur, attacked Khadun Husain Khan, and after defeating him pursued him; but during the pursuit, on Thursday night, the 19th Zi'l Ka'da in the year 1173 A.H. (4th July, 1760 A.D.) while it was raining, a thunderbolt descended and struck Miran and his servant dead. Cf. pages 428-29 of *Jimul-t-Tawarikh* of Fakir Muhammad, Elliot, Vol. VIII, 1877 edition.

But the *Kiyazu-s Salatin* translated by Mr. Abdus Salam, Calcutta, 1902 edition, page 382, places the scene near Jahangirnagar (i.e. Dacca).

Also cf. *Khulasat-t-Tawarikh* of Mahārāja Kalyana Simha translated by Nawab Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, June 1919, pp. 218-235 especially p. 235.

¹ Raymond's translation, Vol. II (1902), of *Sair-ul-Mutakharin* and Broome's *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army*.

Ali Vardi Khan died in 1756 and was succeeded by his grandson Siraj-ud-daula who was weak and an inexperienced man of violent temper. The British community of Calcutta succeeded in overthrowing Siraj-ud-daula who had committed atrocities on them and made Mir Jaffar, a relative of Siraj-ud-daula, Nawab in 1757. Jaffar was however an old man of feeble disposition and was deposed by the British in the year 1760. He was succeeded by Mir Kasim.

The relations of the British with Mir Kasim were ruptured about the year 1763 when Mir Kasim aided by the titular emperor Shah Alam of Delhi and Shuja, Nawab Wazir of Oudh, threatened to storm the Company's possessions at Patna.

The parties eventually faced each other near Buxar where a pitched battle was fought. It was a daring deed, for the British had less than 11,000 soldiers, whereas the forces of their adversaries numbered over 50,000. Victory sided with the British. The Emperor Shah Alam came over to the British camp and made over the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar (including Tirhut) and Orissa together with the districts of Benares and Gazipur, as imperial fief, to the British Company. The treaty was concluded on the 12th August, 1765 A.D. and the Company undertook to pay the Emperor Rs. 26 lacs a year in return for the Dewani.¹

It has been usual to regard Clive's victory at Plassey as the decisive battle of British India. But it is evident that it was not comparable to the battle of Buxar. Plassey indeed may be almost said to have had no direct or immediate result beyond a palace revolution. It was Buxar which, coming after the dazzling successes of Adams, conferred upon the Company and its officers a legitimate status as servants and feudatories of the Moghul empire and virtual masters of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa by imperial Grant.²

¹ It may be noted, however, that Orissa remained for some time in the hands of the Mahrattas and came under the British power in the year 1803 A.D.

² The text of the Farman granted by King Shah Alam to the English in 1765 is worth reading.

"At this happy time our royal Farman indispensably requiring obedience, is issued; that, whereas, in consideration of the attachment and services of the high

This conferment of the Diwani practically transferred all sovereign power to the Company, and this transference of power was required in the interests of the Indian people.¹

The Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa handed over to the British.

Since the year 1765 the history of Tirhut has been confined to the establishment of order, the progress of settled Government, the growth of cultivation,² etc., etc.

A short campaign, however, was necessary before the authority of the British was acknowledged in Tirhut. Of this campaign the following account is taken from Broome's 'History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army' (1850):—

and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, we have granted them the Dewani of the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, from of the beginning of the Fussel Rubby of the Bengal year 1182, as a free gift and ultimagan, without the association of any other person, and with an exemption of the payment of the customs of the Dewany, which used to be paid by the Court. It is requisite that the said Company engage to be security for the sum of 26 lakhs of rupees a year for our royal revenue, which sum has been appointed from the Nabab Nudjum-ul-Dowla Beheuder, and regularly remit the same to the royal Circar, and in this case, as the said Company are obliged to keep up a large Army for the Protection of the Provinces of Bengal, etc., we have granted to them whatsoever may remain out of the revenue of the said provinces, after remitting the sum of 26 lakhs of rupees to royal Circar, and providing for the expenses of the Nizamut. It is requisite that our royal descendants, the viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttasaddes of the Dewany, the Manager of the business of the Sultanut, the Jaghirdars and Croories, as well the future as the present using their constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said office in possession of the said Company, from generation to generation for ever and ever. Looking upon them to be assured from dismissal or removal, they must, on no account whatsoever, give them any interruption, and they must regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the Dewany and royal demands. Knowing our orders on the subject to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom—written the 24th of Sophar, of the 6th year of the Jaloos, the 12th of August, 1765 (Aitchison's 'Treaties (India)', p. 60).

¹ Keene's History of India, Vol. I, Chapters VI and VII (1906 edition).

² Though Champaran was included in Mithila, it used to be mentioned separately from Tirhut and Hajipur, and never formed part of Saran in any Moghul records. But it appears from revenue records that either at (about 1790 A.D.) or before the Permanent Settlement, it formed part of the district of Saran with the headquarters at Chapra and was separated from it and formed into a district in the year 1866, with an area of 3531 sq. miles.

It was about the year 1781 when Tirhut received its first European Collector in Mr. Grand, that the Sircar of Hajipur was coalesced into the Sircar of Tirhut and then ceased to exist as a separate unit. The town of Hajipur lost some of its importance owing to the transference of its administrative importance to Muzaffarpur.

The district of Tirhut having an area of 6343 sq. miles and having grown beyond the administrative capacity of one Collector was split up, in 1874, into the two districts of Muzaffarpur with its head quarters at Muzaffarpur (a town founded in the 18th century by one Muzaffarkhan, an amil or farmer of Chakla

"In the beginning of 1766, Sir Robert Barker moved from Bankipore with a considerable detachment of his Brigade into the Bettiah country, to reduce a number of the refractory zamindars of that district, who, taking advantage of the troubles that had existed for the last two years, had shut themselves up in their strongholds and refused to pay any revenue, of which considerable arrears were now due. The judicious arrangements of Sir Robert Barker, and the efficient force at his disposal, led to a speedy and satisfactory adjustment of affairs in this quarter. Some little resistance appears to have been offered at first, but the inutility of such attempts being rendered very apparent, served to prevent any subsequent efforts of the same nature, and in a few months the whole country was brought into a state of complete subjection."

Sir Robert Barker's subjugation of Bettiah chiefs.

An account of the Bettiah jungles.

Sir Robert Barker, in a letter to the Select Committee, dated from Camp at Rampur, 6th March, 1766, gave a very favourable account of the resources of this district, with which even at the present time we are but scantily acquainted. He observes:—"Bettiah will, I think, be of considerable consequence to the Company. Its firs will afford masts for all the ships in India, which must produce a new and considerable trade with the other nations in India, as well as advantage to our own shipping. Gold and cinnamon are also here (the latter we gather in the jungles); timbers as large as any I have seen; musk and elephants' teeth; besides many other commodities I have not yet got the knowledge of." The Select Committee reported these circumstances to the Court of Directors, stating that they looked upon it 'rather as an article of curious intelligence than mere prospects of advantage to the Company.' At the same time, they expressed their determination of pushing the discovery to the utmost advantage, if the advices received met with confirmation.

It appears that under the orders of the Court of Directors, a Board¹ of Revenue was established in

Nai in pargana Bisara) and Darbhanga (Fp. 5 and 6 of the Muzaffarpur Settlement Report, 1901).

¹ Para. 98, page 34 of Final Report, on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Muzaffarpur district, 1892 to 1899, Calcutta, 1901 edition.

Calcutta in the year 1772, and the revenue of Tirhut was settled for 5 years on the farming system. But in 1774, only two years later, this European Agency was replaced by native amils under the superintendence of six Provincial Councils, Tirhut being subordinate to that stationed at Patna. About the year 1777 the Board directed the collection of detailed information for the purposes of revenue settlement. Mr. Francis Grand,¹ to whom is attributed the foundation of indigo as European enterprise in Tirhut, was appointed the first Collector of Tirhut in 1782 and continued collecting detailed information and making settlements till 1787 when he was replaced by

¹ The following report, written by him in 1785, throws some light on the condition of the district. He wrote.—

"In 1782 I was transferred by Mr. Hastings from Head Assistant to a commercial factory (in which the duties consisted of prizing cloths, seeing saltpetre weighed or loaded, attending to the accounts, etc.) to the Government of two considerable provinces involving the settlement or collection of revenues and maintenance of justice: the provinces were Tirhut and Hajipur. I took possession of a country yielding a revenue of above seven lakhs of rupees, but which had suffered from the depredations committed by those who were compelled to abandon the charge to me, and had besides been in revolt owing to the intrigues of the Raja of Benares, Chet Singh, whose baneful influence had spread so far, and would have spread further had he not been checked in time by Mr. Hastings' wise and spirited measures.

"I recovered a large balance due from the farmers to Government, quieted and appeased without bloodshed every disturbance, brought back the disobedient to a just sense of their errors, augmented the revenue, introduced the manufacturing of indigo after the European manner, encouraged the establishment of indigo works and plantations, erected three at my own expense, and thus possessed at that moment a fortune of £15,000 sterling, looked forward to a proportionate augmentation by continuing in my station and extending my manufactories, which with my houses, lands, furniture, tents, equipages, horses, boats, stood then upon a valuation of £10,000 more."

In 1787 Lord Cornwallis having been apprised that Mr. Grand was largely interested in local industries transferred him from Tirhut, and the news drew from him the following remarkable protests—

"On the 26th August 1787 I was in full possession of my appointment and my fortune was in that progressive state as described in 1785. I was in the enjoyment of every comfort, elegance, and luxury of life. I was beloved and respected by those living with me, my assistants, Mr. David Vander Heyden (since M. P. for Westloe), Mr. Henry Colebrook (since Member, Supreme Council) together with Mr. Steel my Surgeon, and Mr. Purvis, my Private Secretary (since retired to England with a considerable fortune derived from the indigo manufactories), and I will say, because I challenge the contrary to be proved almost venerated by the natives of every description under my government, whose tears on hearing of my removal accompanied me even from the place of residence to the bank of the Ganges, where the limits of the district ceased, a distance of twenty-five miles.

"On the 27th August 1787, by one stroke of His Lordship's pen, was Mr. Robert Bathurst nominated Collector of Tirhut and Hajipur, and thus every hope and fair built prospect existing on the preceding day completely blasted. Thus the blow was struck, and from that day fell, perhaps never more to rise. View the portrait and feel"!!! (Cf. pages 35-36, paras. 100 and 101 of Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Muzaffarpur district, 1892 to 1899, Calcutta, 1901 edition.

Mr Bathurst, who took up the enquiries. Between the years 1790 and 1793, the whole of Tirhut including Champaran had its revenue permanently fixed under the direction of Lord Cornwallis.¹

Between the years 1840 and 1845, a first revenue Survey of Tirhut was made along with that of the rest of the country. It was followed by the River Survey between the years 1860 to 1862.²

It may be mentioned here that the Bettiah estate used often to fight with the Nepalese administration and the British Government had to take action with the Nepal Government several times.³

The Bettiah Estate and
the Nepal Darbar

In the year 1840, the last cause of the disturbance was that the Nepalese entered the Ramnagar territory on the occasion of a large fair and proclaimed that the tract of land (8 miles wide and 30 miles broad) which had formerly belonged to Nepal but had been given to the Rām-nagar Rājā on the occasion of his marrying a Nepalese princess, had now on the death of the princess, been resumed by Nepal. Eventually the Nepalese had to withdraw from this region and the villages were made over to the rightful owners in the year 1842.⁴

The results of the mutiny were felt on the border (between Tirhut and Nepal) at Sugauli where Major Holms was murdered by his men. From there the mutineers proceeded via Siwan to Azam Garh. Though some treasures were looted, precautions were taken throughout Tirhut on account of the mutiny and nothing serious happened anywhere. The Nepalese sepoys who were lent to keep order in these parts of the country, proved very useful during the mutiny.

The main burden of preserving peace and order during

¹ Para 100, page 39 of the Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Muzaffarpur district, 1892 to 1899. Calcutta, 1901 edition.

² Para 260, page 95 of do do do do.

³ For those interested in these settlements, the following works are recommended:—

(i) Prinsep's Political and Military Transactions in India, Vol I, 1825.
(ii) Oldfield's Sketches from Nepal, Vol I, 1880.
(iii) Mutiny of the Bengal Army (1857-58).
(iv) Holmes' History of Indian Mutiny, 1891.

⁴ Oldfield's Sketches from Nepal, 1880.

the stormy days of the mutiny, fell upon the European Planters in Tirhut.

In the year 1858, Tirhut with the rest of India passed from the British East India Company to the British Crown.

The immense material and moral progress that Tirhut with the rest of India has seen under the British rule need hardly be dwelt upon here.

APPENDIX A.

DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNTS OF SANSKRIT WRITERS OF MITHILA.

<i>Name of Author.</i>	<i>Century to which the author belonged.</i>	<i>Part of the century.</i>
Abhinava Vācaspati Miśra ..	between 1450 & 1550 A.D.	
Acala Upādhyāya ..	18th	
Arjuna Jhā ..	19th	In the beginning
Badrinātha Upādhyāya ..	19th	Latter-half.
Baguraya Jhā or Ratnapāṇi ..	19th	First half.
Bāna Kavi ..	15th	Second-half.
Baidyanātha ..	18th	
Baṭeśvara Jhā ..	15th	In the middle.
Benidatta Jhā ..	18th	
Bhagiratha or Megha Thakkura	16th	Second-half.
Bhānudatta or Bhānu Miśra	13th	Do.
Bhavadeva Miśra ..	17th	First-half.
Bhavanatha Miśra ..	15th	Do.
Bibhākara ..	19th	In the middle.
Bhīṣma Upādhyāya ..	18th	First-half.
Biśveśvara Miśra ..	17th	Second-half.
Caṇḍa Jhā ..	19th	Towards the close.
Candeśvara Thakkura ..	14th	First-half.
Candradatta Jhā ..	19th	Do.
Candradatta Upādhyāya ..	Time not yet settled	
Chatrakara Śukla ..	15th	In the middle.
Citradhara Upādhyāya ..	19th	
Dāmodara Miśra ..	15th	About the middle.
Devanātha Thakkura ..	16th	
Dhanapati Upādhyāya ..	15th	Latter-half.
Dinabandhu alias Nemaṇa Jhā	18th	In the middle.
Durgādatta Miśra ..	15th	
Durgādatta Śarma (Jhā) ..	19th	In the beginning.
Dvarkānātha Thakkura ..	19th	In the latter-half.
Gaṇapati ..	17th	
Ganeśvara Miśra ..	14th	First-half.
Gangadasa Jhā ..	Time not yet settled.	
Gangananda ..	17th	In the beginning.
Gangeśopādhyāya ..	12th	Fourth-quarter.
Giridhārī Upādhyāya ..	Time not yet settled	
Gobardhanācāryya ..	12th	
Gobinda Thakkura ..	16th	
Gokulnātha Upādhyāya ..	19th	First half.
Graheśvara Miśra ..	14th	
Harapati Upādhyāya ..	15th	At the end.

<i>Name of Author</i>	<i>Century to which the author belonged</i>	<i>Part of the century</i>
Harihara ..	19th	Second-half.
Hariharpādhyāya ..	18th	
Harināthopādhyāya ..	14th	Second-half.
Harsanātha Upādhyāya ..	19th	Towards the close.
Hemāngada Thakkura ..	16th	
Hridayanāth Śarma ..	19th	
Indrapati Thakkura ..	15th	In the middle.
Jagaddhara ..	15th	First-half.
Jayadeva Miśra ..	15th	Latter half.
Jivanātha Jhā ..	18th	
Jyotirīśvara Kavisekharācāryya ..	14th	First-half.
Kālidāsa ..	Time not yet settled	
Kedāranātha Śarma ..	19th	Second-half.
Kesava Miśra ..	16th	Second quarter.
Khageśa Śarma ..	18th	Latter-half.
Kṛṣṇa Śarma ..	19th	
Kṛṣṇadatta Upādhyāya ..	19th	In the beginning.
Lakṣmidhara Upādhyāya ..	17th	Latter-half.
Lakṣmipati Upādhyāya ..	15th	First-half.
Locana Kavi ..	17th	Second-half.
Macala Upādhyāya ..	18th	Do.
Madhusūdana ..	15th	First-half.
Madhusūdana Thakkura ..	1610 A.D. (i.e. towards the close of the 16th century)	
Maheśa Thakkura ..	16th	Second-half.
Mandana Miśra ..	9th	First-half.
Miśaru Miśra ..	15th	About the middle.
Muktesvara Jhā ..	19th	Second-half.
Murāri Miśra ..	9th	In the beginning.
Murāri Miśra ..	15th	Third-quarter.
Murāri Miśra ..	16th	Second-quarter.
Narahari ..	Time not yet settled.	
Narahari Miśra ..	16th	In the beginning.
Narahari Upādhyāya ..	15th	In the middle.
Narapati Jhā ..	18th	Towards the close
Nilāmbara Jhā ..	19th	
Padmanābha Datta ..	14th	Second-half.
Padmanābha Miśra ..	17th	
Paraśurāma Jhā (Mahāmahopādhyāya) ..	17th	Second-half.
Pārthasārathi Miśra ..	Time not yet settled	
Pradyumna ..	16th	First-half.
Prajñakara ..	Time not yet settled.	
Premanidhi Thakkura ..	15th (1488 A.D.)	Towards the close.
Puruṣottama Deva ..	13th	Second-half.
Raghudeva Miśra (Sāraśvata) ..	17th	Do.
Raghudeva Jhā ..	13th	At the end.

<i>Name of Author</i>	<i>Century to which the author belonged</i>	<i>Part of the century.</i>
Rājaśekhara ..	14th	
Rāma Upādhyāya (Jha) ..	18th	Towards the close
Rāmabhadra Upādhyāya ..	16th	Do.
Rāmadāsa Jhā ..	17th	Do
Rāmadatta Thakkura ..	14th	Second half.
Katnapāni ..	15th	Third-quarter
Ravi Thakkura ..	16th	In the beginning
Rucidatta Upādhyāya ..	15th	Fourth-quarter
Rucipati ..	15th	First-half.
Rudradhara Upādhyāya ..	15th	Fourth-quarter.
Sālikānatha Miśra ..	Time not yet settled	
Samkara Miśra ..	16th	Second-half
Samkara Miśra ..	15th	Do
Sarborutribedin ..	19th	
Simha Bhupāla ..	14th	
Sivāditya Miśra ..	11th	First-half.
Sridattopādhyāya ..	14th	At the beginning.
Sridatta Miśra ..	15th	First-half.
Srinivāsa Miśra ..	14th.	
Subhankara Thakkura ..	16th	At the end.
Sucaita Miśra ..	16th	First-half.
Sudhākara ..	16th	Beginning
Udayanācāryya ..	10th	Towards the close
Umāpati Upādhyāya ..	18th	First-quarter.
Vācaspati Miśra ..	19th	Second-quarter.
Varddhamānopādhyāya ..	1450 & 1550 A.D.	
Varddhamānopādhyāya ..	13th	
Vangamani ..	17th	First-half.
Vanśamani ..	17th	Beginning
Vasudeva Miśra ..	15th	Fourth-quarter.
Vidyākara Miśra ..	19th	
Vidyāpati Thakkura ..	15th	First-half.
Viśnudatta Jhā ..	18th	Latter-half.

ABHINAVA VACASPATI MISRA

A most distinguished writer on Smṛti. In the final colophon of the *Sūdra-ācāra-cintamani*, he is called *Maharājādhirāja Śrīmada-Harinārāyaṇa-pariṣada*, a court Paṇḍita of the King Hari Nārāyaṇa Bhairava Simhadeva. In his last work extant, the *Pitr-bhakti-taraṅgiṇi*, towards the end, Vācaspati is called the *Pariṣad*, or court Paṇḍita of Rāmabhadradeva, the son of Bhairava Simha.

HIS WORKS ARE 1:—

- (i) The *Ācāra-cintāmaṇi*, on the daily rites of the Vājasneyins, including the daily worship of deities.

- (ii) The Āhnikā-cintāmaṇi, on the daily rites of the twice-born generally.
- (iii) The Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi, dealing with the festivals of the year.
- (iv) The Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi, describing the five sacred places. Prayāga, Puruṣottama (Bhuvanēsvara), Gayā, the Ganges, and Benares, and the various ceremonies to be observed there when on pilgrimage.
- (v) The Dvaita-cintāmaṇi, on doubtful points of Smṛti.
- (vi) The Nīti-cintāmaṇi, on the kingly duties.
- (vii) The Vivāda-cintāmaṇi, dealing with civil and criminal law.
- (viii) The Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi, on legal procedure and evidence.
- (ix) The Śuddhi-cintāmaṇi, on purification.
- (x) The Śūdr-ācāra-cintāmaṇi, on the daily duties of a Śūdra.
- (xi) The Śrāddha-cintāmaṇi on funeral ceremonies.
- (xii) The Tithi-nīṛṇaya, on the doubtful points of Smṛti in connection with lunar days.
- (xiii) The Dvaita-nīṛṇaya, the ascertainment of doubtful or disputed points in Smṛti.
- (xiv) The Mahādāna-nīṛṇaya, deals with the sixteen great gifts.
- (xv) The Vivāda-nīṛṇaya, on points of civil and criminal law.
- (xvi) The Śuddhi-nīṛṇaya, on purification due to religious impurities, death, birth, etc.
- (xvii) The Kṛtya-mahārṇava, dealing with the fasts and festivals of the year and discussing the proper time thereof.
- (xviii) The Gayā-śrāddha-paddhati, a manual of the funeral rites to be performed at Gaya.
- (xix) The Candana-dhenu-pramāṇa, a discussion of the texts for substituting sandal paste marks instead of burnt marks on the bull dedicated at the time of the Śrāddha.
- (xx) The Dattaka-vidhi, or Dattaka-putr-estiyāga-vidhi, a manual of the rites for the adoption of a son.
- (xxi) Pitr̥bhakti tarāṅgini.

- (xxii) Piāyascittacintāmani.
- (xxiii) Gayāyātīā
- (xxiv) Gayāprayoga.

At the end of the Pitr-bhakti¹ he states that he composed 10 works on the Śāstras (Nyāya) and 30 on Śmṛti. His Nyāya works yet discovered are :—

- (i) The Anumāna-khanda-tikā, said to give the essence of the views of Gautama (Nyāya) and of Jaimini (Mimāṃsā). It is probably a commentary on the Anumāna-khaṇḍa of Gaṅgesopādhyāya's tattva-cintāmani
- (ii) The Khaṇḍan-oddhāra, notes on the work of Śrīharsa's Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khāḍya.
- (iii) The Nyāya-sūtra-oddhāra, notes on the Nyāya-sūtra of Gautama. A fragment only found.
- (iv) The Śabda-nirṇaya, a grammatico-philosophical treatise on Śabda or words. No MS. yet found. Mentioned in his Dvaita-nirṇaya

One Laghu-purus artha-cintāmani is mentioned in the Benares College Catalogue as composed by the Maithila Vācaspati Miśra. If correctly attributed, it is not clear whether it belongs to Smṛti or Darśana.

It is said traditionally that he had a son named Lakṣmidāsa who in 1501 A.D. wrote the Ganita-tattva-cintāmani, a commentary on the Ganitadhyāya and Golādhyāya of Bhāṣkarācārya's Siddhānta-śiromaṇi. In this work he calls himself the son of Vācaspati Miśra, who was son of Keśava of the Upamānya Gotra.² Varddhamānopādhyāya in the Danda-viveka declared Sankara and Vācaspati as his guruvah (preceptors)

He has attributed some of his works to Bhairavendra (i.e. Hari Nārāyaṇa), i.e. the Kṛtya-mahārṇava, the Vyavahāra-cintāmani and the Mahādāna-nirṇaya and has admit

¹ Cf. Pitrībhakti Tarangini :—

मास्ते दयः स्मृतौ निरुद्धिबन्धा येन यौवने ।

निर्मितास्तेन चरमे वयस्यष्ट विनिर्मेमे ॥

² But the Mithilā Panjī Prabandha (i.e. the hereditary tables of Maithila Brāhmanas) shows that Abhinava Vācaspati Miśra was a Maithilā Brāhmaṇa of Batsya-gotra and of Paliwarsamaul-mool.

Popular tradition calls a son of Vācaspati Miśra Narahari Miśra whose son was Keśava Miśra.

ted having composed several works such as Dvaita-nir-naya by the order of Jayādevi, queen of Bhairavendra

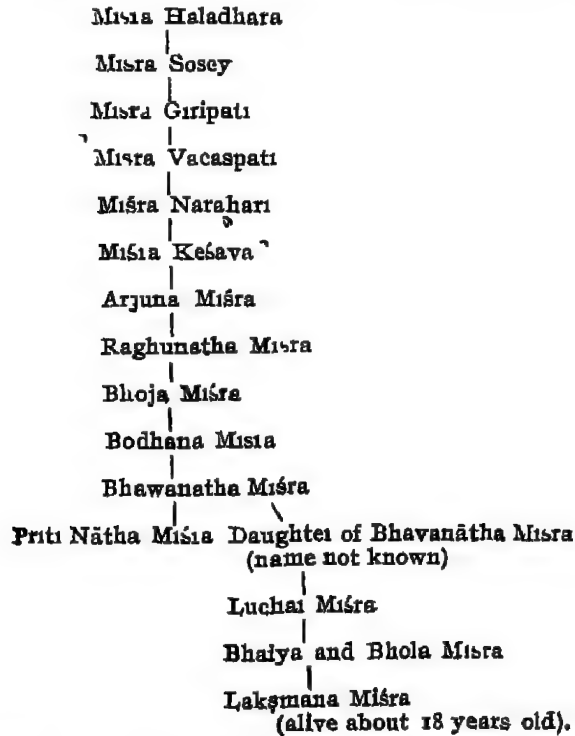
The oldest manuscript of his, a copy of the Suddhi-ninaya, is dated Samvat 1416, Caitra Amāvasya, or 1494 A D¹. These accounts show that he flourished in two reigns, viz of Bhairavasimhadeva, and in his old age of Bhairava's son Rāmabhadradeva.²

He composed a large number of works and must have lived to a good old age. He may be placed between years 1450 and 1550.

ACALA UPĀDHYĀYA.

He is traditionally believed to be a brother of Macala Upadhyāya. This tradition is, however, based upon Pañji. Aufrecht³ mentions one Acala Upādhyāya, author of

The following table based on Maithila Panjis will show his family connection —



¹ Cf. R. Mitra, Notices, X, p. 58, No. 3318.

Here 'Samvat' is obviously mistaken for Saka.

² Cf. Rāmabhadradeva.

³ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 5 (a) and Vol. II, p. 1 (b).

Vākyabāda and Śabda-vicāra. From his name it appears that he was a Maithila. He has been also mentioned by Dr. Rājendra Lāla Mitra in his Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts (No. 1940) and by Paṇḍita Debi Prasāda in his Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts of Oudh, Vol. XVII (1884, No. 22). His age is not yet certain, but tradition assigns him to the 18th century.

PAṆḌITA ARJUNA JHĀ.

He is known for his works: (1) *Laghu-dīpikā*, a book on astrology, and (2) his commentary on Udayanācāryya's *Kusumañjali*.

He is traditionally assigned to village Magrauni in the Darbhanga district and is said to have flourished at the beginning of the 19th century.¹

PAṆḌITA BADRI NĀTHA UPĀDHYĀYA.

He was the author of (1) the commentary known as *Marmasucika Byākhyā* on the Tantrika work "Bhairava-Yāma-loktastotra"; (2) a commentary on *Tārābhakti Sudhārṇava*; (3) *Cakra Kaumudi*.

Paṇḍita Ceta Nātha Jhā of Darbhanga has written a detailed commentary on Badrinātha's *Bhairava-Yama-lokta-Stotra*.

Aufrecht² has mentioned one Badrinātha Upādhyāya mentioned in Kavindra Candrodya. It is not certain if it is the same person as our author.

His style is modern and his time certain. He is said to have emigrated from his birth-place in village Khokhā in the Purnea district to village Ujjain in Darbhanga district where he lived under the patronage of the late Mahārāja Maheswara Simha.³ So he may be placed in the latter half of the 19th century.

¹ Cf. the commentary.

कार्तिक कल्पप्रतिपद्भुक्त गोविन्दस्यार्थे लिखितमिदम्। पुस्तक लिखन परिश्रमवेत्ता विद्वज्जोमान्यः। सागर लङ्कानखेदो दनुसानेकः परंवेति। इति श्रावणे १७४९ सन् १९२९ साल।

² Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 366 (b).

Cf. Maheswara Simha.

RATNAPĀNI JHĀ OR BAGURAIYĀ JHĀ.

He is the author of the following works¹ :—

- Ācārasaṅgraha (Smṛti) ;
- Ekoddistasāriṇī ;
- Kṛṣṇārcanacandrikā ;
- Kṣayamāsādiviveka ;
- Nāḍiparikṣādicikitsakathana ;
- Parvanacandrika ;
- Prāyaścittapārijāta ;
- Mahādānavākyaṅgāvali ;
- Mithileśacarita, a description of the customs and manners of Mithila and its rulers ;
- Mithileśahnika ;
- Vratācāra, written for Maheśvarasimha, son of Rudrasimha, son of Chattra Simha ;
- Subodhini Dh., written by request of Rudrasimha, Raja of Tirhut ;
- Rāmacandra Pratiṣṭha, a book on rituals and several ritualistic and religious songs.

He is a modern writer and was contemporary of Rājā Rudra Simha² who patronised him. His time is certain and he may be placed in the first half of the 19th century.

BĀṆAKAVI.

He is the author of Pārvati-pariṇaya-nāṭaka, dealing with rituals of marriage ceremonies prevalent in Mithila. He was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa of *Bhandāri-samaya-mool* and of Vatsya-gotra.³ Popular tradition assigns him to a village called Bhandārisama in Darbhanga district near Manigāchi railway station. The image of goddess, 'Vānīswara-bhagawati' said to have been founded by him, is still to be found in that village.

¹ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 490 (a).

² Cf. Rudra Simha.

³ Based upon Maithila Pañji.

Bāṇakavi was a very important and famous Paṇḍita of Mithilā.

He must be distinguished from his namesake, the famous writer of Kaḍamvari, Sri Harṣa-caritra, etc.

Tradition makes him friend of Vācāṣpati Jhā¹ and brother of Rucipati.² So he may be placed in the 2nd half of the 15th century.

BAIDYANĀTHA.

He was a Maithila and wrote Keśava-caritra, a poem describing the life of Keśava Deva, king of Multan, father of Tara Candra.³ He lived in the 18th century A.D.

BATEŚWARA JHĀ.

He is the author of a commentary on the Sanskrit drama Mudrā Rāksasa and said to have been a contemporary of Rājā Dhira Simha⁴ and as such he may be placed about the middle of the 15th century A.D. He is said to have been great-great-grandfather of Narahari Upādhyāya.⁵

BENIDĀTTA JHĀ.

Known for his poem, Rasa-kaustubham, which is still in manuscript.

His age is not certain.⁶ He may be placed in the 18th century as his style is modern.

BHĀGĪRATHA OR MEGHA THAKKURA.

Three of his Vaiśeṣika sub-commentaries are extant, all on Varddhamāna's work, viz :—

- (i) the Kirṇāvali-prakāśa-prakāśikā ;
- (ii) the (Nyāya) Kusum-ānjali-prakāśa-prakāśikā, etc.;

¹ The following śloka is traditionally ascribed to Vācāṣpati Jhā :—

ध्वजः काव्याख्यनेरुः कवि विपणि महारत्न राशिबिम्बीर्णः शब्दाः शब्दीषु सिन्धु प्रलयमुपगतौ
वाक्यसाण्डिख कोषः । दिव्योत्तीर्णं निधानं निधनमुपगतं वाहता विद्यबाणौ । बाणे दूर
प्रयागे प्रतिहत विधिना प्रापिते दौर्घं निद्राम् ।

² Cf. Rucipati.

³ Cf. the Lahore Statement No. 4 showing the old and rare manuscripts in the Gujarawālā and the Delhi districts, by Paṇḍita Kāśinātha Kunte.

⁴ Cf. Dhira Simha.

⁵ Cf. Narhari Upādhyāya.

- (iii) the (Nyāya) lilavati-prakāsa-vyākhyā ;
- (iv) Dravyaprakāśikā ;
- (v) a commentary on Bauddhā-dhikkāra.

He was an elder brother of Mahesa Thakkurra and may therefore be placed with him in the 4th quarter of the 14th century.¹

But if his brother, Mahesa Thakurra,² was the founder of the present Darbhanga Raj, then he must be placed in the 2nd half of the 16th century.

BHĀNU MISRA OR BHĀNU DATTA.

He is son of Ganeśa or Gaṇapati and he has cited several verses of his father in his works which evidently show that his father was also a poet. This Gaṇapati is very likely the author of 'Mahāmōḍa' to which reference is made by Rājaśekhara.³

The four works, viz : (1) Rasamañjari ; (2) Rasa tarañgiṇī ; (3) Rasapārijāta ; and (4) Gita-gauripati, are ascribed to him. The first two works are undoubtedly by one and the same Bhānudatta. According to his own statement⁴ Rasamañjarī is an older and more detailed work than Rasatarañgiṇī.

The following works are also attributed to him⁵ :—

- (1) Kumāra Bhārgaviya,
- (2) Muhurta-śara,
- (3) Alamkāra Tilaka,
- (4) Śrīṅgārādīpika.

He says at the end of the Rasamañjari that he lived in a country encircled by the river of the gods, i.e. the Ganges. This must put him in close proximity to Mithilā.

According to tradition he was living in village Isahpur

1 Cf. the following śloka which is attributed to Megha Thakkurra who is said to have been a student of Jayadeva or Pakṣadhara Misra :—

विशाब्दे जयदेव पण्डितकवेस्तर्का विप्रारक्तः श्रीमानेष भगौरथः समजनि श्रीचन्द्रपत्यात्मज
श्रीश्रीरातनयेन तेन रचिता श्रीमन्महेशायज श्रीदामोदरपूर्वजेन जयतादाचन्द्रमेषा
कृतिः ॥ ४ ॥

2 Cf. Mahesh Thakkur, p. .

3 Cf. Sakti Muktaṭvālī of Jalhana.

Cf. Peterson's introduction to Subhāṣṭāvalī, p. 33.

4 Cf. Rasatarañgiṇī, p. 68A, Benares edition.

5 Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 505 (a), 1885.

near Manigāchi railway station in Darbhanga district. A tank called Bhānumati is still found in that village.

His date is uncertain.¹ His Rasamañjarī was commented upon by Gopāla in Vikrama Samvata 1494, i.e. 1437 A.D.

Certain verses, viz. verses Nos. 790, 973, 1032, 1271, 3328 and 3685 in "Sāraṅgadhara-Paddhati" are cited under the name of the poet Bhānupāṇḍita or Vaidya Bhānupāṇḍita. If our author is identical with Vaidya Bhānu Paṇḍita, he certainly lived before the date of Sāraṅgadhara Paddhati, i.e. 1363 A.D.

In Rasataraṅginī and Rasamañjarī, he frequently cites 'Bharata' and 'Śṛṅgāra Tilaka' of Rudrabhatta. It is now certain that Rudrabhatta lived before the 12th century A.D. because he is cited by Hem Candra, the author of "Kāvyaṇuśāsana," who admittedly lived in the 12th century. So Bhānudatta may be placed approximately in the 2nd half of the 13th century.

BHAVADEVĀ MISRA.

He was son of Kṛṣṇadeva Miśra of Mithilā and was author of Dānadharma-prākriyā and Pātañjalasūtrabhāṣya² and he belonged to the 1st half of the 17th century A.D.

BHAVANĀTHA MISRA.

He was father of Śaṅkara Miśra and brother of Jivānatha or Jayanatha Miśra. He was known for his erudite learning of Sāṅkhya Darśana Nyāya and Smṛti. Even now the Maithilis identify his house in village Sarisava in Darbhanga district.

The works Mimamsā Navaviveka, Nyāya Pallava, Nyāyalīlāvatikanthābharāṇa and Khaṇḍanākhādyatika are attributed to him though without³ absolute certainty.

He spent his days in Benares. Bhavanātha Misra has

¹ According to popular tradition he was father of Jānūḍatta Miśra and Jānūḍatta's daughter's son was Gaṅgā Nanda Kavi, who was author of Bhṛṅga-dutta.

² Cf. Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts by Rājendra Lal Mitra, Calcutta, 1871-90, No. 1834.

³ अर्थात् न शोचनीय किमपि न भूतले । अतः पर औपनिषद्ग्रन्थेषु मनो मनोहारिणि काण्वी तटे ।

left a great name and reputation in Mithilā.¹ It is said of him by the Maithila Panditas that he was named Ajāchi Misra because when a ruler of Mithilā called him to his house, he said it was not necessary for him to go to the king and all that he required were a few *bel* fruits of which there was an abundance in his house.

As he was father of Sankara Misra² he may be placed in the 1st half of the 15th century.

BIBHĀKARA.

He was author of Ācāra-dvaita and is said to have belonged to village Ujāna in Darbhanga district. He is assigned to the middle of the 19th century A.D.

BRĪSMA UPĀDHYĀYA.

He is the author of Gita-Śamkara (a book on music) mentioned in the Catalogue of Oudh Manuscripts.³ He is also accredited with the authorship of Kumārasambhvatikā and Vṛtyadarpaṇa. He was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa.

His time is uncertain but he has a modern style and may be roughly placed in the 18th century A.D.

BIŚVEŚVARA MIŚRA.

He is author of "Smṛtisamuccaya" mentioned by Dhanūrdhara in his "Nitya Kṛtyārṇava." Tradition says that he was married to the daughter (Kumudinīdevi) of Rājā Acyuta⁴ Thakkura and that he was father of Raghu-deva Miśra who has mentioned him in his Virudāvali.⁵ He is traditionally said to have been honoured by king Shah Jahan.

¹ It is said of him that a Sanyāsi who saw him teaching his pupils spoke :—

तर्क कर्कश विचार चातुरी कातुरीय वयसा विभाव्यते ।

चातुरी भवति यत्र मानसम् ।

on this Bhavanātha Miśra replied :—

चातुरी शिष्यं मया करोति क.

² Cf. Śaṅkara Miśra.

³ Cf. Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in Oudh by Pandita Deviprasāda, Vol. III, 20, also Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 154 (a).
Also Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 413 (b).

⁴ Cf. Account of Darbhanga Raj Family

⁵ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 748(a).

He is to be distinguished from Biśweśwara, author¹ of "Smṛti Samuccaya" quoted by Hemadri, by Sūlapaṇi, by Premanidhi, by Raghunandana in Prāyaścitta-tattva, by Ananta in Bidhāna Pārijāta, etc.

As he was a son-in-law of Acyuta Thakkura, he may be placed in the 2nd-half of the 17th century.

PAṆDITA CANDA JHĀ.

He was a great writer who flourished towards the close of the 19th century and was in the employ of the late Mahārāja Sir Lakṣmeśwara Siṃha and the present Mahārāja Sir Rameśwara Siṃha. He has left several works, some of which are :—

1. Mithilā Bhāṣā Rāmāyaṇa.
2. Saptasati.
3. Puruṣa-parīkṣā-tika.
4. Rasamanjari.
5. Lakṣmīśwara Vilāsa.
6. Vātāhāvāna.
7. Gitāśudha.

He may certainly be placed towards the close of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century.

CANDESVARA THAKKURA.

He is a noted authority of Smṛti in Mithilā and he is known for his famous Smṛti Ratnākara which consists of seven parts² :—

- (i) The Kṛtya-ratnākara³ deals with fasts, festivals, and their appropriate times,

¹ Cf. Virudavah :—

श्रीविश्वेश्वर मिश्रतः कुसुदिनी देवी कुमार कुलास्त्रकारं समता पथ गणपतिं गौरी
गिरिणादिव दौहित्री ऽच्युतवक्रुरस्य कतिनः श्रीहृदिनामान्ययःश्रेष्ठोऽसौ रघुदेव वासक कवि
विदेहभूमपन्नः ॥

विधादुधमुखं महीपतिमथ श्रीवृद्धिनाथं ततो लक्ष्मीदेव कुलाधिदेव सहितं श्रीमोहन
मोहनम् ॥ सखा श्रीहरिदेव देव जनुवं ज्येष्ठं वयोभिर्गुणैः कलेनां विददावलीमिह सदानन्दे
ऽनुलेन्यस्त्वान् ॥

² Cf. the last śloka of the Dāna-ratnākara.

श्रीकृत्यदानव्यवहार श्रद्धि पूजा विवादेशु तथा गृहस्थे ।

रत्नाकराधर्मभूषो निबन्धा, कृतास्तुलापूरुष देव सप्त ॥

³ The Kṛtya-ratnākara quotes a considerable number of later Smṛti works, e.g. the—

- (ii) The Gr̥hastha-ratnākara¹ deals with the duties of a householder,
 (iii) The Dāna-ratnākara² deals with the various kinds of religious gifts,
 (iv) The Suddhi-ratnākara is on purification,
 (v) The Vivāda-ratnākara³ deals with the Civil and Criminal law and may be said to have formed

Kalpa-taru (39 times)	Varṣa-dīpikā (1)
Kalpa-taru-kara (2)	Vasanta rāja (1)
Kāma dhenu (7)	Viśva-rūpa (1)
Gopāla (2)	Vrata-sagara (1)
J.ā-nibandha (1)	Sesodatta (1)
Bhupāla (9)	Sesodatta (1)
Dāna-sāgara (25)	Sridattopadhyaya (1)
Deveśvara Dharmā-dhikāṇika (1)	Sat-timsau mata (2)
Parijāta (36)	Samaya-pradipa (12)
Murāri-rājā (1)	Skanda-yamala (1)
Yogīśvara (2)	Sāgara (20)
Rājā-maritaṇḍa (3)	Smṛti-maharṇava-prakāśa-kara (2)
Lakṣmidhara (4)	Halāyudha (2)

¹ The Gr̥hastha quotes the—

Kalpa-taru (8)	Lakṣmidhara (10)
Kalpa-taru-kara (2)	Sridatt-aunika (2)
Kāma-dhenu (1)	Smṛti-maharṇavakara (5)
Parijāta (18)	Smṛti-ratna viveka (3)
Mitākṣara-kara (3)	Halayudha (9), and besides the—
Rājā (2 Bhojadeva) (1)	it mentions thrice his own Kṛtya ratn-ākara.

² The work (Dāna) professes to have been made after consulting the Kalpa-druma, the Parijāta and the Kāma-dhenu. The references are few, among which may be mentioned :—

Kalpa-taru (1)	Bhupāla-paddhati (1)
Kāma dhenu (1)	Medhatithi (1)
Dāna-sāgara (8)	Mṛtyunjaya (2)
Parijāta (4)	Yogīśvara (2)
Prakāśa (2)	Lakṣmidhara (1)
Bṛhad-Yogīśvara (1)	Sāgara (13)
Bhupāla (7)	

³ It forms the basis of the Vivāda-cintamaṇi of Vacāspati Miśra, the Vivāda-cāndra of Miśra Miśra and the Daṇḍa-viveka of law, such as the commentators of the Dāyā-bhāga (Acyuta Cakravartī, Raghunandana, Śrī-Kṛṣṇa Tarkāṇkara), Raghunandan in his 28 tattvas, and so on. It contains a large number of quotations from authorities, and mentions the following late works and writers of Smṛti :—

Asahāya as quoted by Prakāśa-kara (1)	Mitākṣara-kara (3)
Udayakara in Manuṭika (4)	Miśra (1)
Kalpa-taru (31)	Medhatithi, quoted twice from the Prakāśa (7)
Kalpa-taru-kara (4)	Lakṣmidhara (11)
Kāma-dhenu (6)	Smṛti-Maharṇava (1)
Graheśvara Miśra (2)	(Smṛti-maharṇava) prakāśa (22)
Parijāta (50)	(Smṛti maharṇava) prakāśa-kara (25)
Bhaguri, the Vṛtti-kara (1)	Haridhara (3)
(Manu) Bhāṣya-kara (1)	Halāyudha-nibandha (3).
Mitākṣara (7)	

the basis of the Vivāda cintamaṇi of Vācaspati Misra (Abhinava), the Vivāda candra of Misaru Misra and others who followed Candeśvara Thakkura,

- (vi) The Vyavahāra-ratnākara¹ is on legal procedure and evidence,
- (vii) Pujā Ratnākara.

He compiled other works, viz :—

- (i) The Kṛtya-cintamaṇi² on astrological discussions of religious observances.

It was often quoted in later works and should be distinguished from the Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi of Vācāṣpati Miśra. In the introductory verses it mentions Garga, Vārāhamihira, Bhojarājā Śripati Parāsara and Saxya, Jiveśvara and others.

- (ii) The Dāna-vākyāvali³ seems to be a supplement to his Dāna-ratn-ākara. It mentions the Kalpataru (3), the Kāma-dhenu (1), the Dāna-kāṇḍa, the Dāna-sāgara (1), besides his own Dāna-ratn-ākara (once).
- (iii) The Śiva-vākyāvali,⁴ on Śiva worship is quoted in the Varṣa-kṛtya of Rudradhara.

The following works are also attributed to him⁵ :—

- (1) Ādhividhi; (2) Dāsavimokṣavidhi; and (3) Svāmipālavivādataraṅga.

The Vivāda and the Vyavahāra ratnakaras make him entitled to be called a writer on politics and his works may be compared well with those of Kautilyasta Kamaṇḍaka and Sukra, the early writers on Politics in Sanskrit whose works show Indian life in full vigour.

Candeśvara's works cover the whole ground of administration, military, civil, judicial, and so on. His work shows that he wrote under the orders of the king, Hara-Simha whose minister he was. It may be noted

¹ The Vyavahāra is said to be an enlargement of the Kalpa-druma, the Parijata and the Kāmadhenu of Gopāla. The headings agree very nearly with those in the Vyavahāra-Kalpa-taru.

² For the Kṛtya-cintamāni, Ind. Office Cat. p. 611, No. 1621, for the Dānavākyāvali, Ind. Govt MS. 5480 (33 folios) copies in samvat 1612 or 1555 A.D., and for the Śiva-vākyāvali, Ind. Offg. Cat. VI, p. 1409, No. 3727.

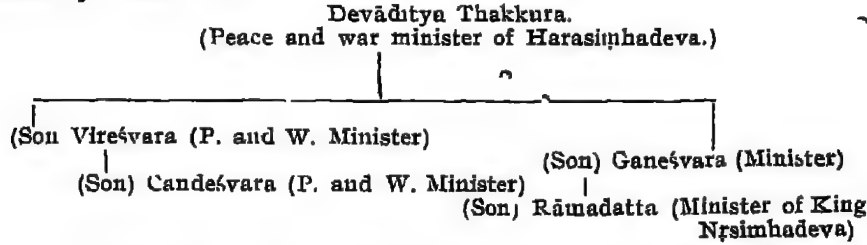
³ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 177 (b).

that Ganeśvara, Candēśvara and Ramadatta belong to one family. Candēśvara has given an account of his family in the Kṛtya-ratnākara (a part of his Smṛti-ratnākara), the end verses of Dana-ratnākara and the Vivāda-ratnākara.¹

Candēśvara was war minister of Harasimhadeva. He is said to have won great battles with the Nepalese in the Śākā year 1236 corresponding to 1314 A.D. Rāmadatta, son of Ganeśvara, was a Minister of Raja Nṛsiṃhadeva of Mithilā. Candēśvara says that he conquered the Mlecchas. This may perhaps refer to the Muslim invasion of Tirhut about 1324 A.D. under Ghyasuddin.²

In the circumstances Ganeśvara and Candēśvara may be safely placed in the 1st-half and Rāmadatta in the 2nd-half of the 14th century.

¹ We get the following facts about the family Devāditya was peace and war minister of the king Harasimhadeva. He had two sons, Vireśvara and Ganeśvara Vireśvara was peace and war minister of the same king, and Ganeśvara his minister (mantri). Candēśvara, son of Vireśvara, became peace and war minister of the same king. He is said to have conquered Nepal, to have given large quantity of gold on the bank of the Vāgvati river in the bright-half of the month Mārgaśīra, Śākā 1236 (1314 A.D.), and to have rescued the earth from the deluge of Mlecchas. Rāmadatta, son of Ganeśvara, was minister (mantri) of the king Nṛsiṃha and a Mahāmahattaka too. The family relationship may be shown at a glance by a chart thus:—



It is doubtful if a busy high officer like Candēśvara personally compiled the digest. Its very size, one section (the Vivāda) alone taking up 671 pages in print and the extravagant praise bestowed on Candēśvara in the introduction and at the end prevent us from coming to this conclusion. His cousin Ramadatta admits that his manual on Saṃskāras was completed by one Svāmi Thakkura, and that his manual on gifts was compiled with the aid of Bhava Sarman of Khaupa (ua?) lavahsa. These high officers probably supervised the compilations prepared by some pandit or body of pandits, and were naturally credited with the authorship. In modern times we have similar examples in Bengali translation of the Mahabharata passing under the name Kaliprasanna Sīṃha of Calcutta; and going back earlier we find both Vidyāpati and Vācaspati Miśra attributing some of their own works to their patrons (pp. 385-86 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Nov. & Dec., 1915, Vol. XI).

² R. Mitra, Notices, VI, p. 135, No. 2069, end verse 2:—

सग्रा खेच्छमहापर्वे वसुमती येनोद्धता लोकाया ।

विध्वस्तावनिवैरिणः क्षितिभुजा लक्ष्मीः सत्तासादिता ॥

The Dāna-ratnākara which gives this information should therefore be later than 1324 A.D. Some of the other Ratnākaras (Vivāda) and the Kṛtya-dintamani

PAṆḌITA CANDRADATTA JHĀ.

His most famous work is (1) Bhaktamāla in Sanskrit. His other works are (2) Paribhāṣa-mani-mālā ; (3) Karna-gitamahākāvya and (4) Bhagawati Stotra ; (5) Kāśigitā or Kasikagita (a treatise on music) and Kṛṣṇa-virudavālī.

He was a contemporary of Mahārāja Chatra Simha¹ and so he may be placed in the 1st-half of the 19th century.

CANDRADATTA UPĀDHYA.

He was a Maithila² Brāhmaṇa and author of भगवद् भक्तिमहात्म्य "Bhagwatbhakti Mahātmya." His time is not yet certain.

CHATRAKARA ŚUKLA.

Known for his commentary on the drama Anargha-rāghava. He says in his commentary³ that he wrote it at the instance of Rājā Bhairava Simha⁴, son of Rājā Nṛsimha of Mithilā. Thus he may be placed during the reign of Bhairava Simha, i.e. about the middle of the 15th century A.D.

CITRADHARA UPADHYAYA.

He is said to have belonged to village Magrauni in Darbhanga district. His extant works are: (1) Pramāṇa Pramoda⁵; (2) Singāra-Sārini and (3) Virasārini. Tradition assigns him to the 19th century A.D.

mention his performance of the Tula-purusa ceremony in Sākā 1236, and must be later than that date. It seems probable that his compilations were generally completed after A.D. 1314 and some part after 1324 A.D. They may be therefore placed roughly between 1315-30 A.D. His uncle, Gaṇeśvara, composed his work, the Sugati-sopana, a little earlier, say in the beginning of the fourteenth century, while his younger cousin, Rāmadatta, compiled his work a little later, say in the second quarter of the same century (p. 386 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Nov. & Dec. 1915, Vol. XI).

¹ Cf. Appendix C.

² Cf. The catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the library of his Highness the Maharaja of Alwar by Peter Peterson, No. 1580, extract 5093, Bombay, 1892.

³ Cf. the following śloka in the commentary :—

राजराजमरसिंह खलुना निर्मलौ भय कुलाल भानुना ।
 चक्षरोभिरपि गतीकौर्तिना कामि निर्जित मनोज दुर्तिना ॥
 त्रीमता तेन भूपेन कार्यते ऽर्घ्यराघवे ।
 शला त्रीमन्ध्र करमिति पुष्पाविष्टतिः सती ॥

⁴ "Cf. Bhairava Simha, 1.

⁵ Aufrecht mentions two other works called "Pramāṇa Pramoda". (1) by Gokulanātha and (2) by Hari. Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 354(b).

DĀMODARA MĪŚRA

He is known for his "Vanibhuṣaṇa" published in the Kāvya-mālā series.¹ In the colophon he describes himself as a Maithila of the Dirghaghosa or Dighawaita² family.

He must be distinguished from Dāmodara Mīśra, the compiler of Hanumāna Nāṭaka as well as from Dāmodara Mīśra of the Bhoja Prabandha.

Pandita Lakṣmi Nātha, the commentator of the Prākṛitapingala, has mentioned his work and as Lakṣmi Nāth's work is assigned to the Samvat 1657, I think Dāmodara may be placed at the beginning of the 17th century if not earlier. But from Dāmodara's "Vāṇibhuṣana" it appears that he lived during the time of Mahārājā Kīrti-Simha.³

As Kīrti Simha flourished at the beginning of the 15th century, he may be placed about the middle of the 15th century.

DEVANĀTHA THAKKURA.

He is author of Tattva-cintāmaṇi-āloka-pariśiṣṭa, a commentary on Jayadeva's Āloka which in itself is a commentary on Gangeśa's work. It appears that a manuscript of his work was copied in La. Samvat 443 or 1562 A.D.⁴

Local tradition makes him son of Govinda Thakkura, calls him Nyāya Pāñcaka and places him in village Bhata-simiri. He is said to have been a pupil of Somabhatta.⁵ He is accredited with the authorship of: (i) Smṛti-Kaumudi; (ii) Adhikaraṇa-kaumudi; (iii) Kāvya-kaumudi and (iv) Tantra-Kaumudi. As son of Govinda Thakkura, he may be placed in the 16th century.

¹ No. 1 of the Kāvya-mālā series, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1903 edition.

Also cf. Aufrecht's Catalogous Catalogorum, Vol. I, p. 231 A.

² इति माथिलीयं घोर कुलोद्भूत दामोदर मिश्र विरचितम् वाणीभूषणं समाप्तम् ॥

³ कौमदीयः जीव धावदन्त दन्तिरणी ।

(p. 13) of Vāṇibhuṣanam.

For Lakṣmi Nātha cf. Aufrecht's Vol. I, p. 538 B.

⁴ Cf. Aufrecht's Notices III, p. 75, No. 116.

⁵ In the Tantra Kaumudi Deva Nātha says:—

सोम भट्टोपदिष्टेन पथा संचरतोऽपुना

मौसांसा विषयारण्ये ग्रहणं मम भारती

DHANAPATI UPĀDHYĀYA.

He was son of Rucipati, and author of *Srāddha-darpaṇa* in which he has given the following genealogical table which will show his family connection :—

Ratnapāṇi
|
Nyāyāditya
|
Matikara
|
Harivaṇśa
|
Ratidhara
|
Viśwanātha
|
Rucipati (commentator on Anargha-Rā-
ghava)
|
Dhanapati (author of *Srāddha darpaṇa*)
|
Agamācāryya Harapati (author of *Man-
tra pradipa*).

Dhanapati has mentioned in his *Srāddha-darpaṇa*¹ that this book was composed during the time of Mahārājā Rupanārāyaṇa Rāmabhadra, who apparently flourished in the 2nd-half of the 15th century.

Bibhākara in his *Dvaita Viveka* (not yet published) has mentioned that Mahārājā Rupanārāyaṇa Rāmabhadra² was a friend of Sultān Sikandar Lodi.³

As he flourished during the time of Sikandar Lodi, he may be placed in the latter half of the 15th century.

PANDITA DĪNABANDHU JHĀ ALIAS
NEMANA JHĀ.

He was a pupil of Pandita Acala Upādhyāya of Magrauni. It is traditionally believed that he served under the

¹ Manuscript of *Sraddha-darpaṇa* is to be found in the Darbhanga Raj Library, Darbhanga.

² Cf. *Ramabhadra*.

³ सिक्कन्दर पुरन्दरो गुबडुरोदर श्रीकृया दिनं गमयति भुवं विविध न ॥ १ ॥
प्रचष्ट रिपुमण्डली सुकुट कोटि कोटि प्रभासमाकुत पदाम्बुजम यमिष ॥ १ ॥

Rājā of Nepal and got jagir from the Nepal Darbar in the Samvata year 1811 corresponding to the English year 1754 A.D. He left many sons who were famous for their Sanskrit learning, such as Nandi Jhā, Babujana Jhā, Kṛṣṇadatta Jhā and others. It is said that the Nepal Darbar sanad is still in the possession of the descendants of Paṇḍita Dīnabandhu Jhā of village Pilakwara in the Darbhanga district. I have not been able to see this. But all this account is based on popular tradition backed up by the Maithila Pañji which shows these names.

DURGADATTA MISRA.

He is known as the author of ¹Nyāyabodhini on Nyāya and Vaiśeṣikā and ²Vṛitta-Muktāvali. Aufrecht calls the author of Vṛittamuktāvali to be a Maithil. His time is not yet settled, but he cannot be placed earlier than the 16th century A.D.

PAṆḌITA DWĀRAKĀ NĀTHA THAKKURA.

He wrote a commentary³ on Śraddha Paddhati of Śrīdatta⁴ Upādhyāya. His father's name was Kalānātha Thakkura who was an inhabitant of village Govindapur in the Bhagalpur district. There is no dispute regarding his Maithila nationality.

His style is quite modern. He may be placed in the latter half of the 19th century.

GAṆAPATI.

He is known for his Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅgini, a book in three parts dealing with the rites or ceremonies to be

¹ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol I, p. 256 (a).

² Cf. H. P. Sāstri, Notices III, p. 75, No. 116.

³ Published at the Jageswar Press, Benares. Cf. the final śloka which he composed.

त्रैलोक्याय सञ्जाल शब्द कानन केसरी. सेखरी कृत सज्जन्योवचन काश्यां शिवं स्मरन्
अनेक शास्त्राण्यवलोक्य टिप्पण्या भूय, सञ्जोक क्षिताय सम्यक् त्रैद्वारकानाथ इति प्रपूज्ये
प्रकाशये पद्धति के सुधीः सन् ॥ १ ॥

गोविन्दपुर वास्तव्यः कर वञ्चो मञ्जुर्दलः । धीयुताम् प्रार्थये नित्यं सम्यग्ज्ञानसंवलितानि मे
उल्लापद्वैतक संशोधनं परसम्पदा निवासि ।

⁴ C. F., p. .

performed on the bank of the river Ganges. In this book he states that he was born in the family of Yogiśvara¹ and his grandfather received pension from the Mithilā king and that he was son of Dhareśvara. A manuscript or copy of it has been found dated Samvat 1755, i.e., 1698 A.D.² Gaṇapati quoted Vācāṣpati Miśra and Varddhamānopādhyāya as authorities. He belongs in any case to the 17th century.³

GANEŚVARA THAKKURA.

He was brother of the minister Vireśvara and uncle of Candēśvara.

He was a writer on Smṛti and minister of Rājā Harasiṃha-deva⁴ of Mithilā. He wrote Sugati-sopāna⁵ (steps to bliss) dealing with various kinds of Dānas (gifts). As he was uncle of Candēśvara⁶ who lived in the 1st-half of the 14th century A.D. there can be no dispute regarding the certainty of his time which may be put in the 1st-half of the 14th century.

GAṄGĀ NANDA.

Known for his poetical piece "Karna Bhuṣaṇa which he composed while in the service of Mahārāja Karna Simha of Bikāner. His Karna Bhuṣaṇa has five chapters and traces the development of the several *rasas* or sentiments through all the stages or *bhāvas*.⁷ From the last śloka of Karna Bhuṣaṇa, it appears that he was a Maithila.⁸

¹ Cf. the introductory and final verses in the Ganga-bhakti-tarangini.

² Varddhamānopādhyāya and Vācāṣpati Miśra come towards the end of the 15th century. Gaṇapati therefore comes between the 16th and the 17th centuries A.D.

³ Cf. Harisinhadeva.

⁴ Cf. the 1st śloka :—

वेदस्मृति पुराणादि दृष्ट्वा लोकहितैषिणा ।

ज्ञातं सुगति सोपानं श्रीगणेश्वर मन्त्रिणा ॥ १ ॥

A manuscript of the Sugati-sopan exists in the Nepal Darbar library and is dated Lakṣmaṇa Samvat 224=(about) 1340 A.D. (cf. p. 131 of the Nepal Catalogue by H. P. Sastri) 1905.

⁵ Cf. Candēśvara.

⁶ Cf. page 167, "A History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature" by M. Krishnamaharya, 1st edition.

देवदेवकीरेण गङ्गानन्देन निर्मितम् ।

गाय स्युर्बते कर्णभूषणम् ॥

He is also known as the author of a small work *Bhṛn-gadoota*, a poetical piece. It is a *Dūta-Kāvya* (i.e. written on the model of *Kālidāsa's Meghdūta*).

The popular tradition asserts that he lived in village *Sārisau* from *Vikrama Samvata* 1673 to 1742 corresponding to 1616 to 1685 A.D. He was son of a daughter of *Jānudatta*, who was son of a *Bhānu Miśra*. He is traditionally said to be a nephew of *Pāṇḍita Raghunandana* who was a student of *Maheśa Thākkura*. He is also known as author of "*Kāvya-dakini*." He may be placed at the beginning of the 17th century, as his patron *Kaṛṇa Simha* of *Bikanir* flourished in the first-half of the 17th century.¹

GANGESOPĀDHYĀYA.

Gangeśopādhyāya is the author of the famous book *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*, i.e. the thought-jewel of truths. His book is said to be the most liberal treatise on the *Nyāya* system. *Vācaspati Miśra*, *Jayanta*, and *Udayana* have been quoted from place to place in his work. The principal object of this work was to controvert the principles of Buddhism.

It must be remembered that *Vācaspati*, *Jayanta*, and *Udayanācāryya* are the originators, so to speak, of the *Nyāya* system in *Mithilā* and *Bengal*. The fact that the *Bengal* authors refer freely to their works, shows their influence. *Gangeśopādhyāya*, comes next only to these three writers.

The *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* is divided into the following *khaṇḍas* (parts) :—

- (i) *Pratyakṣa* or perception ;
- (ii) *Anumāna* or inference with a special sub-section on *Isvar-anumana* or the inference about God ;
- (iii) *Upamāna* or comparison ;
- (iv) *Śabda* or affirmation.

There are too many commentaries² on these works to admit of any enumeration here but it may be noted that

अनधीत्यसमन्य निखिलं कर्णभूषणे ।

दूषणं धीरनादेय भित्तिं विनिवेदयन् ॥

¹ Cf. p. 277, C. M. Duff's chronology of India, 1899.

² The *Vedānta Paṭibhasa* mentions only 10 commentaries.

each of these khaṇḍas is divided into several parts, each practically forming a book.¹

Śabda-maṇi-prakāśa is a commentary on Gangeśa's works by Haridāsa Nyāyālaṅkāra of Navadvīpa.²

In the final colophon Gangeśa is given the title of Upādhyāya (modern Ōjha), a class of Brāhmaṇas who with the Miśras and Thakkuras practically monopolized Śanskrit learning in Mithilā. Varddhamānopādhyāya calls himself son of Gaṇeśvara.

His age is not as yet exactly determined but he has criticised Śrīharṣa's Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādyā. He must therefore be placed in the 4th quarter of the 12th century between Śrīharṣa and his son Varddhamānopādhyāya³ who has been assigned to the 1st half of the 13th century A.D., i.e. he belongs to the 4th quarter of the 12th century A.D. This supports the popular tradition in Mithila that he lived 800 years ago.

GIRIDHĀRI UPĀDHYĀYA

He was a Maithil⁴ Brāhmaṇa and author of the astrological work, "Lagnavāda" His time is not certain.

DURGADATTA SARMĀ Jhā.

Known as author of a poem called "Vātāh Vāṇa." His descendants are still living in village Tarauni⁵ in the Darbhanga district.

He seems to have lived at the beginning of the 19th century A.D.

GOVARDHANĀCĀRYYA.

A famous poet in Mithilā. He was son of Nilāmbara⁶ and was closely related to Udayanācāryya. But if this⁷

¹ Pratyakṣa has been divided into 12 parts, Anumāna into 17, Śabda into 16 and Upamāna has only one part.

² Cf. p. 15 of the Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1895-1900 by H. P. Śāstri.

³ Cf. Varddhamānopādhyāya.

⁴ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. II, p. 196a.

⁵ He is to be distinguished from Durgādatta Jhā, author of Nyāya-bodhini.

⁶ Cf. Āryyaśaptasatī.

यं गणयन्ति गुरोरनु यस्यास्तेऽधर्मकर्म सङ्गुचितम् ।

कविसह सुश्रवसमिव त तातं मौलाम्बरं वन्दे ॥

⁷ Cf. the Āryyaśaptasatī :—

"उदयनं वल्लभद्राभ्यां सप्तशतौशिष्यौ सौदराभ्यां ।

द्वौरिव रविचन्द्राभ्यां प्रकाशिता निर्मलौकृत्य" Āryya.

Udayāna was different from the famous scholar of Nyāya, then Govardhanācāryya's Maithili nationality becomes still more doubtful.

His work "Āryya Saptaśati" (so called because it consists of 700 Ślokas in the Āryyā "metre"), is well known. It appears from an inscription that he was one of the Ministers of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.¹ This is also borne out by his own words in the Āryyāsaptaśati.²

Jayadeva has mentioned him in his Gitagovinda.⁴ As Jayadeva lived at the Court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, Govardhanācāryya seems to have lived before the beginning of 12th century.

GOVINDA THAKKURA.

He is son of Keśava and Sono Debi.⁴ He was born

1 "गोवर्द्धनस्य शरणो जयदेव उभापतिः।

कविराजस्य रत्नानि समितौ लक्षणस्य च "

2 "सकल कलाः कल्पयितुं प्रभोः प्रबन्धस्य कुमुदबन्धोस्य
सेनकुलतिलक भूपतिरेको राकाप्रबन्धोस्य " ॥

3 वाचः पञ्चवयस्युभापतिधरः सन्दर्भशुद्धिं गिराम्।

जानीते जयदेव एव शरणः श्लाघो दुर्लभद्रुतः ॥

शृङ्गारोत्तर सत्यमेव रचने "राचार्यगोवर्द्धनः"

स्यर्द्धः कोऽपि न विद्युतः अतिधरो धार्या कविः क्षापतिः "।

4 काव्यप्रदीपारम्भे यथा,—

"सोनोर्देयाः प्रथमतनयः केशवस्यात्मजान्मा

श्रीगोविन्दो रुचिकर कवेः स्नेहपात्र कनीयान्।

श्रीमन्नारायणचरणयोः सम्यग्भाषाय चिन्तं,

नत्वा सारसतमपि मद्दः काव्यतत्त्वं व्यनक्ति " ॥ इति ॥

समाप्तौ यथा,—

"ज्येष्ठे सर्वगुणैः, कनीयसि वधोमात्रेण, पात्रे धियां

गात्रेण स्मरगर्वखवेन (ण) परे, निष्ठाप्रतिष्ठावये।

श्रीचर्चे त्रिदिवं गते, मयि मनोहीने च कः शोधये-

द्व्याशुद्धमच्चो मद्दत्सु विधिना भारोऽयमारोपतिः ॥ १ ॥

परिशौलयन्तु श्रुतो मनसा सन्तोषशीलंन

इममद्भूत प्रदीपं प्रकाशमपि यः प्रकाशयति ॥ २ ॥

द्वीपिशद्वितयं कन्ये प्रदीपद्वितयं सुतो।

स्वमतौ सम्यगुपाद्य गोविन्दः श्रुतो ॥ ३ ॥ इति

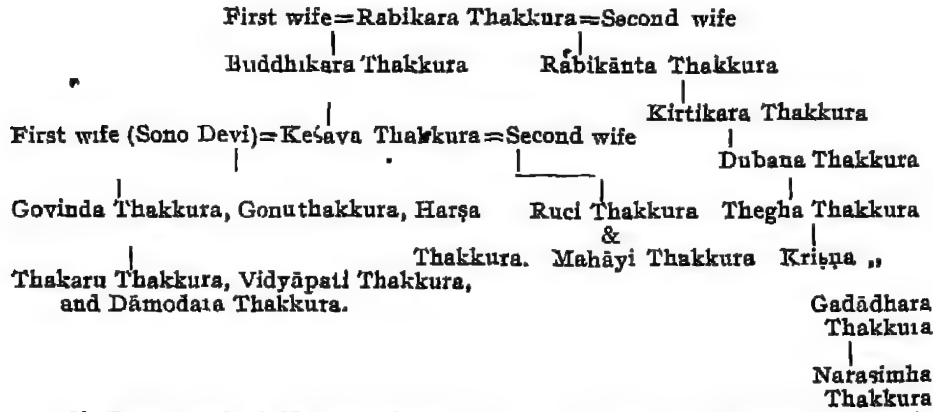
On the basis of these slokas, the following sketch of the family of Govinda Thakkura may be drawn up :—

in the Ravikara race in Mithilā.¹ His descendants can still be traced in villages Sumaul and Bhatāsimiri near Madhubani in the Darbhanga district.

He is author of: (1) Kāvya Pradipa² and (2) Pujā Pradipa.

Kṛṣṇa Stotra has also been attributed to him.

His Kāvya Pradipa is a commentary on Kāvya Prakāśa a well-known work on poetics by Mammatta. Though following the lines of Mammattā, it is generally studied as an independent treatise on poetics and has its own bulk and extent. His date is pretty certain. He lived between Viśva Nāth (who flourished in the 15th century) the author of Sāhitya darpaṇa, whom he refers to in his work by the word "Arbāchin" (=modern), and Kamalākara Bhatta (who has referred to Kāvya Pradipa in his commentary on Mammatta's Kāvya Prakāśa), the author of Nirṇaya Sindhu which is dated 1612 A.D. We can therefore certainly place him in the 16th century.



Cf. Prastāvau of Kavyaprakasa, pp. 34-36 under the authority of Public Instruction, Bombay edition, 1901.

¹ The Kāvyaṃālā of Bombay has published a genealogical account of Govinda Thakkura and has found him to be a Maithila.

² The following slokas at the beginning of the Pujā Pradipa as well as that at the end of it show that he was in the employ of one Bhavanand Rāya. It is not known who this Bhavananda Rāya was and to which part of the country he belonged.

न स्त्राघनं विदग्धं गुरवे यस्य विद्या विदग्धे नासेवन्ते जलधितनयां यस्य दृष्टाः कृपाङ्गम्
नाकाक्षन्ति क्वचिदपि सुधां यस्य कार्यं पिवन्तः सन्तस्तोयं जयति जगति श्रीभवानन्द रायः ॥ १ ॥
श्रीमन्तु केशव तनयो [redacted] देश (मनु) वर्ती । प्रकटयति धर्मं पदवीं पूजाकर्म्म
प्रदीपेन यन्थान्तं स्त्रीकः श्रीमन्तु [redacted] शवर्ती गोविन्दशर्मा गुहभक्ति युक्तः । उपासकानामुप-
कारहेतोः पूजाप्रदीपं कृतवान् ॥

GOKULNĀTHA UPĀDHYĀYA.

an important Smṛti writer noted for his work "Ekā-

Besides his Ekāvali he is said to have composed following works:—

1) Amṛtodaya Nāṭaka; (2) Kuśumāñjali-tippani; (3) ali-Chando-grantha; (4) Kādambari-kīrti-śloka; (5) imbari-pradīpa; (6) Kādambari-praśnottaramālā; (7) ra-prakāśa-tika; (8) Rasmicakra-Tattva-cintāmani; (9) Dikṣānirupana; (10) Tattva-cintāmani Diddhiti-
pta; (11) Padavākya-ratnākara; (12) Māsaminaiśa; Mithyatvanirbacana; (14) Śivastuti; (15) Khaṇḍana-
kūṭāra; (16) Ālokatippani; (17) Adhāradheya-bhava-
tattva-parikṣa; (18) Muktibāda-bicāra; (19) Biśiṣṭa-vaisiṣa-
bodha; (20) Tarka-tattva-nirupana; (21) Prabodha-kā-
dambari and (22) Dvanda-vicāra, etc.

He lived under the patronage of Mahārāja Fatehsah of Garhwal. He is traditionally known to have lived in village Mangrauni in the Darbhanga district and to have taught his younger brother Jagannātha Upādhyāya.

As his daughter Kādambari died young he wrote most of his works in her name.¹ There is an image of Gauridigambara at Hajipur founded by him. He flourished during the reign of Mahārāja Rāghava Śiṃha, and he must be placed in the 1st-half of the 19th century.²

GRAHESVARA MIŚRA.

His works are lost. But he is quoted twice in Candēśvara's Vivāda-ratnākara and no less than ten times in Varddhamāna's Daṇḍa-viveka.³ He wrote a work on Vyavahāra which is named in the Daṇḍa-viveka of Candēśvara as Vyavahāra-taraṅga, and which probably formed part of a general digest. As he is called Miśra and as he is quoted by the Maithila writers, he has been taken as a Maithila.

Having been quoted by Candēśvara⁴ as an authority his time must be earlier than fourteenth century A.D.

¹ She must have been a pretty cultured young lady. It is said that his son was Raghunātha Upādhyāya.

² Cf. Appendix C.

³ The Vivāda-ratnākara, Bib. Ind. ed., pp. 46, 483; As. Soc. MS. of the Daṇḍa-viveka, pp. 44, 78, 88, 104, 105, 106 (3), 59 and 105 (अवधारतरे यद्विचर मित्राः)

⁴ Cf. p. 379 of the Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1901 edition.

HARAPATI UPĀDHYĀYA.

He is known as the author of the book called 'Mantra-pradipa,' which was composed under the order of Mahārāja Kansa Nārāyaṇa Lakṣmī Nātha. He was brother of Dhanapati Upādhyāya and son of Rucipati.

As brother of Dhanapati, he may be placed at the end of the 15th century.¹

HARIHARA.

He was a brother of Nilakantha and wrote the Prabhāvati-parinaya Nāṭaka,² and may be placed in the 2nd-half of the 19th century.

HARIHAROPĀDHYĀYA.

He is known for his Bhṛṅghari-nirveda-nāṭaka (a work on drama) which has been published in the "Kāvya-mālā Sanskrit series" of Bombay.³

Aufrecht mentions one Harihar whom he calls a Māithila and brother of Nīlkantha and to whom he ascribes the authorship of Prabhāvatiparinaya-nāṭaka. It seems that the author of Bhṛṅghari-nirveda-nāṭaka, and Prabhāvatiparinaya-nāṭaka was the same person.

Several other works are also attributed to him.⁴ His time is not yet settled, but he seems to be quite a modern author and may be placed in the 18th century.

HARINĀTHOPĀDHYĀYA.

An important Smṛti writer noted for his work Smṛti-Sāya. His nationality is not yet settled, but several Māithilas have put him among the Maithilas and Vacaspati Miśra in his Vivāda-cintāmaṇi, Varddhamāṇa in his Daṇḍa viveka, etc., who are Māithils, have quoted his works as an authority, but it cannot be denied that several non-Māithila writers have also quoted him as an authority such as the Bengalee Sulapāṇi, in his Durg-otsava-viveka. He has referred to Gaura several times in his work. Therefore his Māithil nationality is not quite certain.

¹ Cf. Dhanapati.

² Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 762 (b).

³ Cf. N. 29.

⁴ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 762, and Vol. III, p. 157.

His works are also quoted by Raghunandana and Kamalākara.¹

He has referred to Harihara (who belonged to the 13th century) more than once. Sulapāṇi has referred to him and as Sulapāṇi is said to belong to the 15th century, our author lived between the 13th and the 15th centuries A.D. and may probably be put in the 2nd-half of the 14th century.²

HARṢA NĀTHA UPĀDHYĀYA.

He wrote Uṣaharaṇa Nātaka in mixed Sanskrit and Maithili and was patronised by Mahārājā Lakṣmīśvara Simha of Darbhanga. As a contemporary of Mahārājā Lakṣmīśvara Simha he may be placed towards the close of the 19th century.

HEMĀNGADA THAKKURA

He was son of Gopāla Thakkura and grandson of Maheśa Thakkurā.³ He was a very famous astrologer. He has composed a book called "Grahana Mālā"⁴ which contains an account of solar and lunar eclipses for 1,000 future years. He may be placed in the 16th century.⁵

HRDAYANĀTHA SARMĀN.

He is author of Nandi-mūkhanirupana and was a Maithila.⁶ He belonged to the 19th century A.D.

INDRAPATĪ THAKKURA.

He is known for his Mimaṃsā-rasa-palvala, a book on Smṛti written for the ignorant of Mithila. It appears from

¹ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 758(a).

² A manuscript of Sraddha-viveka of Sulapāṇi dated the 1st Chaitra, 1451 Vikrama Samvat, corresponding to the English year 1394 A.D., written by Guṇānava Misra is in the possession of Paṇḍita Parmeswar Jha, Librarian to the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga. This shows that the composition might have been made some 50 or more years before that date because in those days work of a writer was considered authoritative by the people only after the author's death. This places Sulapāṇi at the beginning of the 14th century and Harināthopadhyāya at the middle of the 13th century.

³ All this is based upon Mithilā Pañji and tradition.

⁴ Cf. the first śloka at the beginning of Hemāṅgada Thakkura's "Grahana-mālā."

खण्डवलाकुल तरणगोपालादापयं गौरी ।

हेमाङ्गदः सतनुतेपञ्चो राक्षपरागस्य ॥ ७ ॥

⁵ Cf. Maheśa Thakkura.

⁶ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 767 (b).

this work that he was son of Rucipati and Rukminidevi and a pupil of Gopāla Bhatta. There was one Rucipati who commented upon Anargha-rāghava, under the patronage of the Mithila Ruler, Bhairava Simhadeva. He may be placed at the middle of the 15th century.¹

JAGADDHARA.

He is author of the following works²:—

Devimahātmyatikā, Bhāgavadgitāpradīpā, Mālatimādhavatīkā, Rasadīpikā Meghadūtatikā, Taṭtvadīpinī Vasavadattatikā, (quoted by Sivarama on Vasavadattā), Venisāmhāratīkā and Śārasvatikanthābharaṇatikā.

Towards the close of his work³ (Commentary on Benī-samhāra Nāṭaka) he describes his family and traces his descent from the famous Mīmāṃsā writer Candēśwara⁴ who was removed from him by 5 degrees.

It is said that he was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa of Surganmoola and Parāsaragotra. It is also asserted by popular tradition that he was a Dharmādhikāraṇika (Superintendent of Religious Department) at the court of Mahārājā Dhira Simha.

As fifth in descent from Candēśwara, he may be placed about the 1st-half of the 15th century A.D.

¹ Cf. Dhanapati.

² In his commentary on Benī-samhāra-nāṭaka, he has described his literary eminence:—

येना पाठि कठोर गीतम् मतं वैशेषिकं खण्डनम्
येना अपि सकाक्ष कोष निबद्धं तत्पाणिनीयं मतम्
ब्रह्मो लंकरणं च शुद्ध भरतं येन ध्यायि स्मिरं
तेनानेन जगद्धरेण कपिना टीका कृत्यसमृद्धा ।

also cf. Aufrecht, Vol I, p. 195 and V. II, p. 39.

³ The following table will give his family connection —

Mīmāṃsaka Candēśwara

Vedadhara

Rāmadhara (Mīmāṃsaka).

Gadadhara (Tantarika)

Vidyādhara

Ratnadhara

Jagaddhara.

His mother's name was Damayanti.

⁴ Cf. Candēśwara.

JAYADEVA MIŚRA.

It is evident from Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*,¹ that there have been several Jayadevas such as :—

(1) Jayadeva with the surname Pakṣadhara, pupil and nephew of Hari Miśra, paternal uncle of Baśudeva Miśra and Guru of Rucidatta Miśra and author of

- (i) *Tattvacintāmaṇi-Ālok* called also *Cintāmaṇi Prakāśa* or *Manyāloka* or *Āloka*, a commentary on Gaṅgeś' *Tattva Cintāmaṇi* in 4 khandas.
- (ii) *Dravya Padārtha*, a commentary (*Dravya Kirṇāvali Prakāśa*) of Vardhamāna.
- (iii) *Nyāya Padārthamālā*.
- (iv) *Nyāya Līlāvati viveka*.

There are also 18 more works on Nyāya which are generally attributed to him :—

(1) *Upanayālakṣaṇāloka*, (2) *Karakavada*, (3) *Tritiyacakravartilakṣaṇāloka*, (4) *Dvitiyasvalakṣaṇāloka*, (5) *Pakṣatāpurvapakṣagranthāloka*, (6) *Pakṣatasiddhāntagranthāloka*, (7) *Parāmarsasiddhāntagranthāloka*, (8) *Pratijñālakṣaṇāloka*, (9) *Prathamapragalbhalakṣaṇāloka*, (10) *Prathamavalakṣaṇāloka*, (11) *Viruddhapurvapakṣagranthāloka*, (12) *Viruddhasiddhāntagranthāloka*, (13) *Viśeṣaniryuktyāloka*, (14) *Vyaptyānugamāloka*, (15) *Savyabhicārapurvapakṣagranthāloka*, (16) *Savyabhicārasiddhāntagranthāloka*, (17) *Samānyabhāvāloka*, and (18) *Hetulakṣaṇāloka*.

(2) Jayadeva, with the surname *Piyuṣavarṣa*², son of Mahādeva and Sumitra and author of *Candrāloka* and *Prasaṇna Rāghava*.

(3) Jayadeva, son of Bhojadeva and Rāmādevi and author of *Gītāgovinda*. There are also several other authors named Jayadeva.³

Jayadeva number (3) is admittedly a Bengalee, but it is open to question if Jayadeva Nos. (1) and (2) are identical and Maithila. It appears from the internal as well as the external evidence, that they are not identical.

Both in the "*Candrāloka*" and the "*Prasaṇna Rāghava*"

¹ Cf. p. 200 of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1891.

² His title of *Piyuṣavarṣa* is known from an *śloka* from the *Candrāloka*.

चन्द्रालोकस्य सुखयं वितनुते पियूष वर्षः इति ।

³ Cf. p. 200, Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I. Leipzig, 1891.

hava" the author Jayadeva has mentioned the names of his parents who were Mahādeva and Sumitrā—Cf. Candrāloka, I, 16,¹ and Prasanna Rāghava,² p. 6.

The date of Jayadeva No. 2 is pretty certain. He has reproduced literally the definition of the figure *Vitalpa* given by Ruyyaka in his "Alaṅkāra Sarvasva." Ruyyaka was Guru (teacher) of Mamkhaka, author of the Śrikantha Carita.³ Mamkhaka lived under the king Jayapala of Kasmira, 1128-1149 A.D. Thus Ruyyaka lived at the beginning of the 12th century A.D. '

Two verses⁴ have been cited by Sāraṅgadhara from the Prasanna Rāghava in the Sāraṅgadhara Paddhati, which dates from 1463 A.D.⁵

It may be, therefore, safely assumed that Jayadeva, the author of Prasanna Rāghava and Candrāloka, lived between Ruyyaka and Sāraṅgadhara, i.e. between the 12th and the 14th century.

It is not certain if he was a Maithila for he does not say so in his works, nor is there any external evidence to establish his Maithila nationality. It may be incidentally mentioned that Jayadeva, the author of "Prasanna Rāghava" was a well-known poet, a fact which is supported by Tulasī Dāsa (the famous Hīndī poet who lived in the

¹ Bombay edition, 1914 :—

महादेवः सत्रप्रमुखमखविद्यैकचतुरः
सुमित्रा तद्वक्ति प्रणिहितमतिर्यस्य पितरौ ।
अनेनासावाध्यः सुकविजयदेवेन रचिते ।
चिरं चन्द्रालोके सुखयतु मयूखः सुमनसः

² Calcutta edition, 1872 :—

सुत्रधारः । [सत्रणयकोपम्]
विलासो यदाचामसमरसनिष्पन्दमधुरः
कुरङ्गाक्षी विम्बाधरमधुरभावं गमयति ।
कवौन्द्रः कौण्डिन्यः स तव जयदेवः अवणयो-
रयामीदामिथ्यं न किमिह महादेव तनयः ॥
अपिच । लक्षणस्यैव यस्यास्य सुमित्राकृत्तिजम्बनः ।
रामचन्द्रपदाक्षौजि धमदु षट्त्रयति मनः ॥

³ Śrī Śrikantha Charita, Chap. XXV, 26, 13.

⁴ Cf. Kalidasa Et, L'Art Poétique De Līnde, p. 111, Paris, 1917.

⁵ Cf. Sylvain Le'vi, Le theatre Indien, p. 281.

16th century A.D.) having borrowed certain ideas literally from his Prasanna Rāghava.¹

But he seems to be quite different from Jayadeva who was a famous Nayyāyika and whose Guru (teacher) Hari-Misra and whose well-known pupils Vasudeva and Ruci Datta are also well-known Nayyaikas. In none of his Nyāya works he has mentioned himself as Piyūṣavarsa or as writer of any poetical works or has mentioned his

¹ Cf.

Prasannarāghava, by Jayadeva Kavi, printed by Jivānanda-Bidyāsāgara Bhat-tachāryya, B.A., Srirampura, 1872 edition :—

Page 5.

भक्तिं जगतीमागच्छन्त्याः पितामहविष्टपान्
सहति पथि यो देव्या वाचः श्रमः समजायत ।
अपि कथममी सुखं देनं न चेदवगाहते
रघुपतिगुणधाम स्थावरासुधामय दीर्घिकास् ॥

Page 27.

नंद धनुश्चलति किंचिदपौन्दु मौलेः ।
कामातुरस्य वचसासिव सविधानै-
रभ्यर्थितं प्रकृतिचार मनः सतीनाम् ॥

Page 127.

चन्द्रहास हर मे परितापं
रामचन्द्र विरहानल जातम् ।
तु हि कान्ति जित सौमित्राचूर्णं
धारया वदमि शतिलमम् ॥

Page 129.

अलमकरणं चेतः श्रीमन्व शोकवनस्पते ।
दहनकणिकामिकां तावन् सम प्रकटीकुरु ॥
ननु विरहिणां संतापाय स्फुटीकुरुते भवान्
नव किमल्य त्रेणोत्थाजान् कृशान् शिखावलिम् ॥

Pages 132-33

हिमांशुश्चाण्डांशुर्नवजलधरो दावदहनः
मरि दीवीयातः कुपित फणिनिश्चासपवनः
नवा भक्तौ भक्तौ कुवलयध्वजं कुन्तगहनं ।
मम हृदिस्नेवात् सुसुखि । विपरीतं जगदिदम् ॥

Tulasī Dasa's Ramayana, published by Prayāga Narāyaṇa Bhārgava, Lucknow edition, 1915.

Page 10.

भक्तिं हेतु विधिभवन विद्वाद् ।
सुमिरत भारद् आवत धाद ॥
राम सरित सर विनु अहवाये ।
सो श्रम जायन कोटि उपाये ॥

Page 119 (Balakanda).

डिगै न शम्भु शरासन कैसे ।
कामी वचन सती मन जैसे ॥

Page 376 (Sundara Kānda).

चन्द्रहास हर मम परितापा ।
रघुपति विरह अनल संतापा ॥
शैतल निशि तव अस्तिवरधारा ।
कह सिता हर मम दुख भारा ॥

Page 377 (Sundara Kānda).

सुनऊ विनय मम विठप अशोका ।
सत्यनामकर हर मम शोका ॥
नूतन किसलय अनल समाना ।
देऊ अग्निनिमस करऊ निदाना ॥

Pages 378-79 (Sundara Kānda).

रामकहा वियोग तव मोता ।
मोक्षक सकल भयउ विपरीता ॥
नूतन किसलय मनऊ कृशानु ।
काळ निशा मम निशिअथि भानु ॥
कुवलय विपिन कुन्तवन सरिसा ।
वारिद तप्त तेज अनु वरिसा ॥
जेहीतव रहै करत सो पौरा ।
उरग आस सस चिविध समीरा ॥

parents as Jayadeva No. 2, the author of Candrāloka and Prasanna Rāghava, has done, or has called himself or his relations Miśra.

It appears however, that the poet and dramatist Jayadeva,¹ author of the Prasanna Rāghava, was also a Nayyāyika, though his works on Nyāya are not stated either in Prasanna Rāghava or Chāndrāloka. This does not, however, point to the conclusion which has sometimes been drawn that Jayadeva No. 2 (the poet) was identical with Jayadeva No. 1 (Nayyāyika).

Jayadeva (No. 1) seems to be a Maithila. His uncle and teacher was Hari Misra² and his pupils were Vasudeva Misra³ and Rucidatta Misra.⁴ Now many of the Maithila families bear the surname of Misra and some of them claim their descent from Jayadeva No. (1) (Nayyayika) (a fact which is supported by their Panji or genealogical tables preserved in Mithilā) and though some Bengalees have claimed this Jayadeva to be a Bengalee, their claim appears to be baseless.

The Maithilas have a grand saying about him :—

शङ्कर वाचस्पत्योः समानौ शङ्करवाचस्पती भवतः ।

“ पक्षधर प्रतिपक्षौ लक्षौ भूतौ न चक्षामि ” ॥

- His ancient limit is fixed by Varddhamāna whose work he sub-commented⁵ upon. A copy of the Viṣṇu Purāṇ transcribed by him and found in the Darbhanga district, gives the date of its transcription Lakṣmaṇa Samvata 345⁶ i.e. (1119+345)=1464 A.D. Popular tradition

¹ Cf. Jayadeva's Prasanna Rāghava by Jivananda Bidyāsāgara, Calcutta edition, 1872, p. 7 :—

येषां कोमल काव्यकौशलकला लीलावती भारती
तेषां कर्कशतर्क वक्रवचनोद्गारपि किं हीयते ।
यैः कान्ताकुच मण्डले करुणाः सानन्दमारोपिता
सैः किं मत्तकरोन्द्रकुम्भ शिखरं नारोपणीयाः शराः ॥

² But Jayadeva in his own work Cintāmaṇi-āloka, writes as follows :—

अधीत्य जयदेवेन हरिमित्रात् पितृव्यतः तत्त्वचिन्तामणे रित्यमालौकिकं प्रकाशते ।

³ Cf. Vasudeva Misra ; also Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum, Vol. I, 1903, p. 567.

⁴ Cf. Rucidatta Misra ; also Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 523.

⁵ Cf. the sloka :—

वाणैर्वेदं युतैः सशस्त्रनयनैः संख्या गते दायने ।
त्रौ मद्गोष्ठं मही भुजो गुरुदिने मार्गे च पक्षेक्षिते ॥

makes him a Guru (preceptor) of Dāmodara Thakkura, brother of Maheśa Thakkura, the founder of the Darbhanga Rāj during Akbar's reign (1556-1605). Also another tradition calls him a contemporary of Vidyāpati Thakkura. Thus he may be placed in the latter half of the 15th century A.D.¹

JĪVANĀTHA JHĀ.

He was related to Nilāmbara Jhā. His known works are :—

- (i) Bhāvakutūhala,
- (ii) Bhāva-prakāśa,
- (iii) Dikṣā-tattva-prakāśa-vanamāla,
- (iv) Vasturatnāvali, and
- (v) Janma-patri-bidhān.

Of these only Bhavakutūhal has been published. His style is modern. He may therefore be placed in the 18th century.

JYOTIRĪŚVARA KAVISEKHARACĀRYYA.

He was author of Varṇa-ratnākara and Dhūrttasamāgama. The Varṇa-ratnākara is written in Maithili language, but neither the characters nor the language can be properly distinguished from ancient Bengalee. The subject-matter of the book is very curious. It gives the poetic conventions. For instance, if a king is to be described, what are to be his qualities, if a capital is to be described, what are to be the details, and so on. Sometimes the conventions are very amusing. I will give the description of a pimp ; she must be about hundred years old, with wrinkles all over her body, her hair as white as conch shell, her head high, her body without flesh, her cheeks all shrunken, her teeth all fallen. She must be a sister of

यष्टान्ता ममरावतौमधिवसन् या भूमि देवालयया ।

शौम्यचक्षुः सुपुस्तकमिदं द्रष्टुं बलेखीद्रुतम् ॥

¹ Dr. R. L. Mitra (Notices V, p. 299, No. 1976) assigns the date Lakṣmaṇa Samvata 154 = 1270 to Pakṣadhara, but the date actually given in the manuscript (Pratyakṣa-śloka) is I.a. Sa. 1509 and Dr. Mitra drops the dot to assume I.a. Sa. 159 only. I don't think he has given sufficient reasons for adopting this course and for thinking that such insertion of dots to indicate decimal and centesimals figure are not uncommon. It looks as if the whole thing is doubtful.

² To be distinguished from the medical work Bhāva-prakāśa, by Bhāva Mīra, c.. Aufrecht, Vol. III, p. 88(a) and from Bhava Prakasa on poetries by Sarada. Aufrecht. Vol. III, p. 93(a).

Nārada (the god of quarrels) and an expert in bringing two persons together, and so on. This book seems to have guided the genius of Vidyāpati. As regards the antiquity of the work, the author is already well known from a MS. of Dhūrttasamāgama Nāṭaka in the Nepal Darbar Library. The Nāṭaka was composed by the same Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekhara during the reign of Harasimha Deva, the most important of the Karnatak Kings of Mithilā, whom Prof. Bendall places in or about 1324.¹ His Dhūrttasamāgama Nāṭaka is said to have been recited on the occasion of Harasimha Deva's victory over the Muslims.

He may therefore be placed in the 1st half of the 14th century.¹

KĀLIDĀSA.

Kālidāsa is the name given to the author of a short piece on metric Śrutabodha by name. It consists of 43 stanzas, every one of which illustrates a kind of verse and the beauty is that the definition is put in the form of a verse of the same name. A Maithila Paṇḍita of this name is borne out by the Maithila Pañji and Maithilas traditionally believe that he was author of Śrutabodha which is not much known beyond Mithilā. But as a matter of fact, quite a number of commentaries by non-Maithils, exist.

His time is not yet certain.

It is however difficult to ascertain whether the author of "Śrutabodha" was really a Maithila. There have been several Kālidāsas, viz. :—

(1) Kālidāsa the author of—

- (i) Śakuuntalā.
- (ii) Vikramorbaśi.
- (iii) Mālvikāgnimitra.
- (iv) Raghuvaṇśa.
- (v) Kumār Saṁbhava.
- (vi) Rtusamhāra.²

(2) Kālidāsa of Akbar's time.

¹ Cf. p. 23 of the Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1895-1900 by H. P. Sastri.

² Cf. Prof. Bendall's History of Nepal and its surrounding kingdoms J. A. S. B., Vol. LXXII, Part I, 1903.

³ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 675 (b); Vol. II, p. 161(a) and Vol. III, p. 140(a).

- (3) Kālidāsa Ganaka, author of the Śatruparājaya Svara-Sāstra sara,
- (4) Kālidāsa, son of Balabhadra, author of the Kuṇḍa-prabandhu.
- (5) Kālidāsa, son of Rāmagobinda, author of the Tri-pura Sundaristuti kāvya.

And in addition to these names, there are also several other Abhinava Kālidāsas.¹

* KEDĀRNĀTHA ŚARMĀ.

He was son of Paṇḍita Harihara Śarṇma,² who lived in village Kataia in Darbhanga district.

He is an author of a small work written partly in prose and partly in poetry "Mithilā Barṇana" i.e. an account of Mithilā. Some satirical pieces regarding funny customs among the Maithila Brāhmaṇas are often quoted from this work.³

He is a modern writer and may be placed in the latter half of 19th century.

KEŚAVA MĪŚRA.

He was son of Narahari Misra, who was son of Abhinava Vācaspati Mīśra. Popular traditions assign him to a village Sagauna. He is said to have been the author of (1) Dvaita-Pariśiṣṭa, a supplement on Dvaita-nirṇaya of

¹ Cf. "Kalidasa" by Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, pages 1 and 2. Paris edition. 1917, and Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 99.

² Cf. the final sloka

इति विदेहक भूमि निवासिना । हरिहराभिधभूसुर स्तनुना ॥

विरचित मिथिला परिवर्णनम् । जनकजी परिशीलय सर्वतः ॥

वेदार्थापठन विरोधमधिकं मृद्गाण्डके पाचनम् ॥ इत्याद्यान मम पत्यवैवाहि कीयासभा
शिखादानविधिः - शिशौधनवतां भिखाटनं मद्विदाम् ॥ येनिर्दोषगणौरिय बल्लगुणगौडी
कतानूतनैः ॥ १ ॥

³ Cf. sloka

केचित्पाणिप्रहणमधिकं कुर्वतेऽन्ये विमृदाः, तेभ्यः कन्या ददति सुभगा वालिकां दृढकेभ्यः ॥
शास्त्राणाम्प्रति कुलतैश्चिजनैः काशोऽपि नाशोऽकथते ॥ धिक्धक् सौकिक जातिवशजगुणा
एवाद्भुतामैथिलैः ।

Cf. also Mithilēśa-carita (मिथिलेश चरित) a description of the manners and customs of Mithilā, its rulers, etc., communicated in the form of questions and answers, to Ramcandra Mīśra, a Dravidian, by Ratna Mani (Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra Notices, Sanskrit MSS. No. 2023).

Vācaspati Miśra and (2) Tārkabhāṣa. The book Sañkhya-parimāṇa¹ is also attributed to him. He is to be distinguished from Keśava Miśra, the author of Alamkara Śekhara.²

It is said that he was minister of Mahārāja Rupa Nārāyaṇa Kāmabhadra and of his son Kansa Nārāyaṇa Lakṣminātha.³

In the light of what has been said about Abhinava Vācaspati Miśra, he may be placed in the 2nd quarter of the 16th century.⁴

PAṆḌITA KHAGEŚ ŚARMMĀ.

He was author of (1) Kāśi Śiva-stuti, (2) Kāśyā-bhīlāṣāṣṭaka. He lived in village Tabhakā near Narhan in Darbhanga district and is traditionally said to have been patronized by the landholders of Narhan.⁵

It appears from an account of this author by Paṇḍita Canda Jha in Kasi Śiva-stuti⁶ that he lived during the time of Māhārāja Narendra Simha.⁷ So he may be placed in the latter half of the 18th century.

¹ Cf. Sañkhya Parimāṇa.

² Cf. Keśava Miśra, p. 28 (a). Aufrecht, Vol. III. —

Keśava Miśra the author of the Alamkaraśekhara, lived under Manikyacandra, son of Dharmacandra, grandson of Ramcandra. A notice in Cunningham's Aich. Survey V, 160, states that Manikyacandra, son of Dharmacandra, came to the throne in Kangra in 1563. Keśava Miśra wrote also a Vakyaratna which in the Alamkaraśekhara is quoted twice.

³ Cf. p.

⁴ Paṇḍita Parneswara Jhā, Librarian to the Mahārāja Bahadur of Darbhanga has a manuscript of Keśava Miśra Ciptāmaṇi-prakāśa which is dated La. Sam. 473, the end verse of which is as follows:—

इति सोदरपुरकुलसम्भूत महामहोपाध्याय श्रीरुचिदत्त विरचित तत्त्व चिन्तामणि प्रकाशः
प्रतापपरिच्छेदः समाप्तः लसं ४७९ पालीसं श्रीकेशवेन लिखितेषा प्रत्यक्ष मूल रुचिदत्ते ।

This La. Sam. 473 = 1592 A.D.

⁵ Cf. the slokas by Paṇḍita Canda Jha (Kāśi Śiva-stuti).

सर्वादित्यतमूजोपस्थापूराभ्युदयः । द्रोणान्वयेस्तप्त्यासंभुजे सप्तरीराज्यम् ॥
नेपालावनिपालाग्नयार्थं कुलयुद्धे । शिशुरवशिष्टैको गंगारामसत्त्वधरचितः ॥
तद्वैश्यानरचनिगमराधोः क्रमेण सृष्टाः । शक्रोभूष्काशीशोऽपवरवण्डस्य दौहित्रः ॥
यामोऽयमकाशोऽनरचनि निकटेऽसुधीवासः । तत्रैवास्त्रमहायशसुरैः जनिनः कवेस्सदनम् ॥
मिथिलायामाञ्जनास्तीता दूतादूता युक्तम् । इन्द्रपुरोहितयुता गोकुलनाथाश्च ये ज्ञाताः ॥
तेषां शिष्याश्चासन् पण्डितरत्नेषु वागीश्याः तच्छात्रः कविरत्नजने खगेऽनेति विख्यातः ॥
यौतौ नरेन्द्रसिंहान्मिथिल्येष्टात्कृतौ युगपत् । गुप्त शिष्यौ गुप्तविधौ सद्वसरे मान्यसद्वस्रैः ॥

⁶ Cf. do.

do.

⁷ Cf. page

KṚṢṆA ŚARMAN.

He was a Maithila of the Sañkarādhis family. He is author of Anvaya-lāpika-kumara-sambhava-tikā and Raghubamśa tikā. He is a modern writer and belonged to the 19th century A.D.

KṚṢṆADATTA UPĀDHYĀYA.

He is known for several works such as Gīta-Gopi-pati and Candrikacarita and a commentary on Jaydeva's Gīta-govind, called Sasilekha. He is undoubtedly a Maithila as will appear from the śloka of Gīta-Gopi-pati :—

“मैथिल कृष्णभणित मिति माधवचरणयुगल
मुपनीतम् । सखि हे कृष्णमनुपम् भासम्” ।

Harṣanātha Upādhyāya has translated this work and his introductory śloka will settle Kṛṣṇadatta's time.

• चण्डी पदाम्भोजयुगं प्रणम्य श्रीहर्षं नाथो लघुभिर्बचोभिः ।
स्वमादमातामहमातुलेन हतं प्रबन्धं विप्रदी करोमि ।

Harṣanātha is said to have been a Paṇḍita with the late Mahārāja Lakṣmeswara Simha of Darbhanga. Thus Kṛṣṇadatta may be placed at the beginning of the 19th century.¹

LAKṢMIDHARA UPĀDHYĀYA.

He was son of Biśweśwara Miśra and Lakhimā Thakkurāni who is said to be daughter of Acyuta Thakkura. I have not come across any authentic list of his works, but he is identified by some Maithila Paṇḍitas with the author of the treatise on Smṛti called Kalpa-Taru consisting of Kṛtya-kalpa-taru, Vivāda-Kalpa-Taru and Vya-vahāra-kalpa-taru and quoted by Hemadri in Dana Khaṇḍa by Śūlāpāni, by Varddhamāna, by Mitra Miśra and by Vācaspati Miśra, etc. This is however more than doubtful as the author of the Kalpataru belongs to a much earlier period. As son of Viśweśwara, Lakṣmidhara may be placed in the second-half of the 17th century A.D.

¹ Cf. Appendix C.

LAKṢMĪPATI UPĀDHYĀYA.

He is the writer of *Śrāddharatnam*, a book on general ceremonies for the Sāmavedins and Vajasaneyins.¹ A copy of Udayana's *Tātparyya-parīśuddhi* was made by his order in La-Sam 339 or the year 1458 A.D.² He names Indrapati as his guru. Lakṣmīpati may in the circumstances be placed in the 1st half of the 15th century.³

LOCHAN KAVI.

He is author of "*Rāgataranginī*" (i.e. a treatise on music), which is said to have been composed⁴ at the instance of Rājā Mahinātha Thakkura of Darbhanga. In this book he also gives an account of Darbhanga Rāj family. A copy of *Naiṣadha Charitra* copied by him on palm leaves (at village Raiyāma) in Śaka year 1603 is available in the Darbhanga Rāj library. As he was a contemporary of Mahinātha Thakkura, he may be placed in the 2nd half of the 17th century.

MACALA UPĀDHYĀYA.

He was brother of Acala Upādhyāya and lived in the old village of Magrauni in the Darbhanga district. He is credited with the authorship of "*Satrañja-Prabandha*."⁵ The age cannot be accurately stated, but it is said he belonged to the 2nd half of the 18th century.

MADHUSŪDANA.

He was son of Narasimha, grandson of Nageśwara of Mandavagrāma. He had three brothers Govinda, Narahari and Vāmadeva and he wrote under King Dhira Simha

¹ Cf. Mitrā, Notices, VI, p. 52, No. 2036.

² Cf. Nepal MSS. notices, p. 31.

³ Cf. Indrapati.

⁴ Cf. the 8th and 9th slokas in the *Raga-Tarangini* :—

यो जागर्ति महीतले निरुपमः सर्वासु पुंसा कलास्त्रासन्नेषु च कल्पपादपवदानन्दाय यो
नित्यशः । तस्य श्रीनृपसुन्दरात्मज महीनाथानुजस्यारुथा विप्रः कोऽपि सुवर्णजो नरपते
कीर्तिं तनोति प्रियाम् ॥ ८ ॥

किञ्चित्पुमादृत्य कुताश्चिदन्त्यस्तथैव सम्पाद्य पदप्रबन्धान् । वितन्यते लोचननामधेयद्विजैव
सा राज्ञस्तत्प्रणीयम् ॥ ९ ॥

⁵ i.e. a treatise on chess.

of Tribhukti (Tirhut) his astronomical work, *Jyotiṣapradīpāṅkura*.¹

As a contemporary of Dhira Simha,² he may be placed in the 1st half of the 15th century A.D.

MADHUSŪDANA THAKKURA.

He is known for his works *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-āloka*, *Kantakoddhāra* and *Dvaita Nirnaya Jirnoddhāra* and *Samaya Pradīpa Jirnoddhāra*, which is a commentary on *Samaya-pradīpa* by Sridattopādhyāya, Anyathā khyatī *kantakoddhāra*. The prevailing tradition in Mithilā which is backed up by Maithilā Pañji calls him son of Govinda Thakkura. A manuscript of his *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-āloka-kantakoddhāra* has been found cir. I.a. Sāmvata 491 or 1610 A.D.³

Surely he is later than Vācāspati Miśra on whose *Dvaita-nirnaya* he wrote another *Kantakoddhāra*.⁴ He, therefore, lived before 1610 A.D.

MAHEŚA THAKKURA.

He is known for his commentary *Tattvacintāmaṇi, Āloka-darpaṇa* or the mirror of the light, on a commentary of Jayadeva on Gangeśa's work. *Āloka-darpaṇa* has been much praised in Sankara Miśra's *Tri-sūtri-vyākhyā*.⁵

He is also accredited with the authorship of (1) *Tithi-tatva Cintāmaṇi*, (2) *Malamāsa Sārinī* and (3) *Sarvadeśa-vrittānta-Saṁgraha*.

Popular tradition also ascribes to him two other books, viz. : (1) *Dāyasāra*—a treatise on law of inheritance and (2) *Āticārādi-nirṇaya*.

Maheśa Thakkura's brothers were Mahadeva, Bhāgiratha, Dāmodara and Viṣṇu. He was highly respected by the king.⁶

¹ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. II, p. 97 (b).

² Cf. Dhira Simha.

³ Cf.

चक्रो राम कनीयसोऽवनिपतेः शीता सुनन्दाभ्युधा वंके फास्युन सप्तमी रवि दिने गङ्गा
महेश्वरकः इत्यादि । ५ ।

⁴ Cf. Vācāspati Miśra.

⁵

प्रकाशदर्पणीयुतं कङ्कितं शीघ्रं कृतोऽन्वया । १ ।

तथापि योजना सा च सुदृष्ट्यायं समोदासः । २ ।

⁶ The following slokas are taken from the *Anumanaloka-darpaṇa* (Ind. Off. Cat., p. 631, No. 1389, and verses 1 and 2) which will show his family connections :

Gopāla Thakkura and Acyuta Thakkura are known to be sons of Maheśa Thakkura.

The time of the Āloka Darpaṇa therefore lies between that of Jayadeva and Saṅkara Miśra or between 1250 and 1450 A.D. Maheśa Thakkura may be placed in the last quarter of the 14th century.

But this goes against the popular tradition which makes this Maheśa Thakkura the grantee of the Darbhanga Rāja from King Akbar. This would place Maheśa Thakkura and his brother, Bhagirātha in the 2nd half of the 16th century.¹

It may, however, also be said that Maheśa Thakkura, the founder of the Darbhanga Rāja family was author of at least the work Sarvadeśa Vrittānta Saṁgraha in which he gives an account of Akbar's family or a part of his reign² and surely lived in the second-half of the 16th century A.D. This may make the author of the Tattva Cintāmaṇi Ālokadarpaṇa quite different from Maheśa Thakkura, the founder of the Darbhanga Rāja family.

MANDANA MIŚRA.

He is also called Suresvarācārīya. He is the author of (1) Kāśimokṣa Nirṇaya; (2) Taittirīya Śruti Varttika; (3) Naiśkarmya Siddhi; (4) Pañcīkarana Varttiki; (5) Vrihadāranyakoparinisada Varttikā; (6) Brahma Siddhi; (7) Brahma Sutra Vāṣyavarttika; (8) Vidhiviveka or Bhavanā viveka; (9) Manasollāsa or Dakṣiṇa Mūrti Śotra Varttika; (10) Laghuvarttikā; (11) Varttikāsāra and (12) Varttikāsāra Saṁgraha.

The Maithils call him a Maithila and get over the admitted accounts of his having been in the Central Provinces by saying that he had emigrated from Mithilā. But he has nowhere stated or hinted that he was a Maithila and his Maithila nationality is very doubtful.

जनकविषय जन्मा राजसम्मानपात्रं माहे + + + + धीरा चन्द्रप्रत्योक्षनुजः । अर
चयद् गुमा ना लोकमाश्रित्य नित्यप्रमथितं स्रज् दर्पिं दर्पणं त्रीं सहेयः ॥ १ ॥

ज्येष्ठा महादेव भगीरथ दामोदरा यस्य वयोगणायाम् । (स) दर्पणं निर्मितं वानसौषां
सहोदरे विष्णुपदी सहेयः ॥ २ ॥

¹ Cf. Account of Maheśa Thakkura in Appendix C.

² Cf. India Office Catalogue, Vol. VII, p. 1573, No. 4106.

Maithilas however quote from the Sāmavata Nātaka to show that he was a Maithila.

“आखण्डलः पण्डितमण्डलीषु

यत्राभवन्मण्डनमिश्रनामा ।

आर्या तु भार्याऽपि सतीयदीपा

समध्यगच्छत्सकलं हि शास्त्रम् ॥”

But the Nātaka is of recent date and the statement in it that Mandan Misra was a Maithila, might refer to some other Mandan Misra or might be based upon some popular tradition and cannot count as an authority.

Also the Maithilas identify Mahismatipur (as in the sloke below) where he is said in the “Sankar Digvijaya” to have lived with a village Mahisi in Darbhanga district, but this is again without any strong foundation especially in absence of strong local traditions and as “Mahismati” is authoritatively identified with some place in the Maharastra Country.

“अथ प्रसस्ये भगवान् × × × × × × × × × ।

सख्यपुरमालुलोक माहिमतौ मण्डनमण्डितां सः ॥”

He was a contemporary of the famous Śamkarācāryya who lived in the first-half of the 9th century A.D. and so he may be placed in the first-half of the 9th century A.D.

MIŚARU MIŚRA.

He wrote several books on Smṛti. His works are :—

- (1) The Vivāda-candra, dealing with Vivāda and Vyavahāra.
- (2) The Padārtha-candra, on the categories according to the Vaiśeṣiko-nyāya system.

He dedicated his works to Lachimādevi, wife of Candra Simha, a brother of Bhairava Simha¹ Deva. He

¹ Cf. Jolly's Tagore Law Lectures, 1883, p. 27. “In the 14th century, Queen Lachimādevi of Mithilā (Tirhut) composed the Vivāda-candra, the quotations of which from the named later authorities are as follows :—

Pārijāta (1)	Ratn-ākara-kṛta (1).
Balalupa (1).	Vyavahāra-tilaka (1).
Bhavadēva (2).	(Smṛtyi-mahārṇava-)Prakāśa (1).
Ratn-ākara (10)	Smṛti-sāra (7).

can therefore be safely placed about the middle of the 15th century. A D.

MUKTEŚWARA JIĀ.

He is said to have written a book on the rituals "Pujā Patala" under the direction of Raja Maheśwara Simha.¹ He certainly lived in the 2nd half of the 10th century.

MURĀRI MIŚRA.

He is son of Vardhamāna and 'Tantu' Matī Debī and of the Maudgalya-gotra and author of Anargha Rāghava Nāṭaka (drama). There is a tradition that he was a Maithila, but the point is more than doubtful.

Several commentaries have been discovered on the Anargha Rāghava and as the best of them is by Rucipati² who was certainly a Maithila, Murāri is also looked upon by the Maithilas as a Maithila. But the book is most popular and widely read in Cashmere and he is mentioned by 'Rajanaka Ratnākara in his book "Haravijayā" (38—67)³ and it looks as if he was well known in Cashmere in Ratnākara's time.

He is different from Murāri,⁴ son of Rudra Sarma, the author of Śuddhi Nibandha; and from Murāri the author of Gobhilagrihya Subhā Karṇa⁵ Nirṇaya.

In the introduction⁶ to his Anargha Rāghava it is said that the audience were terrified by the representation

Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra's Notices on Sanskrit Literature, IX, 12, No 2901, introd. verse 2 may be consulted.

श्रीचन्द्र सिंह नृपतेर्दयिता लक्ष्मिमा महादेवी ॥

रचयति पदार्थं चन्द्रं मिसरु मित्रोपदेशेन ॥ १ ॥

¹ Cf. Maheśwara Simha.

² Cf. Rucipati.

³ Cf. Rucipati.

⁴ Cf. Anargharāghava, p. 1, Bombay, 1894 edition:—

"अङ्गोत्था (अङ्गोऽथ) नाटक इवोत्तमनायकस्य नाशं कविर्यधित यस्य सुरारिरित्यम् ।
आक्रान्ताश्चभुवनः क्लमन्तः स दैत्यनाथो हिरण्यकशिपुः सह वन्धुभिर्व ॥

⁵ Cf. Murāri.

⁶ Cf. Anargharāghava, p. 6, Bombay, 1894 edition.

सूत्रधारः—असमतिविक्षरेण । भी भो स्वर्णोद्भवावनालीतमाल तदकन्दस्य त्रिभुवन
मौलिमण्डन महानीलमेणो कसलाकुचकलशकेलिकसूरिकापत्राङ्कुरस्य भगवतः पुरसोत्तमस्य
थाचाथामुपश्रान्नीयाः सभासदः कुतश्चिद्द्वीपादागतेन कलहकन्दलनाम्ना कुशीलवेन रौद्र
वीभसभयानकाङ्गनरसभूयिष्ठं कसपि प्रबन्धमभिनयता नित्यं किलायमुद्देजितौ लोकः ॥

of a play which was full of sentiments of anger, terror and disgust and probably the reference is to Bhavabhūti's plays such as Mahābīra Caritam and Mālātī Mādhava. Accordingly his work was meant to remove the unpleasant feelings of the audience. The plot is made up of the story of Rāma and owing to the eloquence of the narration, he has been named Bāla-Vālmiki.¹ The play has no dramatic beauty, and it is more fit for the hall than for the stage. His diction is inscrutable and his ideas are far fetched and in most cases unnatural. Any how he shows himself a master of scholarly reading and ready vocabulary. Viewed as classic poetry, his work finds a middle place in the pantheon.

As Ratnākara flourished at the court of Avanti Varmān, king of Cashmere (855-884 A.D.) Murāri surely lived before the latter half of the 9th century A.D. But as he appears to have lived after Bhavabhūti² who belongs to about the middle of the 8th century A.D., Murāri may be placed in the latter part of the 8th century or at the beginning of the 9th century A.D.

MURĀRI MĪŚRA

He was the author of the Smṛti work Suddhinibandha. Murāri's father was Rudra Śarmā, the son of Harihara, the chief justice of Deva Simha, who sat on the same throne with the king. His father Jayadhara Ladha was the chief justice of Bhavasimha. The colophon of this work is rather curious. It says "Kosiśvara Kṛta Suddhi-pradīpikā Samāpta." The name of the author and the work are both different from those given in the text.³ As his grandfather was a contemporary of Deva Simha,⁴ he

¹ Cf. the following śloka often quoted in praise of Murāri.

देवीं वाचमुपासते हि बहवः सारं तु सारखनं जानीते नितरामसौ गुणकुलक्षिणो सुरारिः
कविः । अन्धिलङ्घित एव वानरभटैः किं लस्य गम्भीरताभापातालनिमग्नपीवरतनुर्जानीति
मन्याचलः ॥ १ ॥ सुरारिपदचिन्ता चेत्तदा माघे सति क्रुद्धः ॥ सुरारिपदचिन्ता चेत्तदा माघे
मति क्रुद्धः ॥ २ ॥ सुरारिपदचिन्तायां भवभूतेस्तु का कथा । भवभूतिं परित्यज्य सुरारिः सुररीक्रुद्धः
॥ ३ ॥ भवभूतिमनादृत्य निर्वाणमतिना मया । सुरारिपदचिन्तायामिदमाश्रीयते मनः ॥

² Cf. V. S. Apte's Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary, Bombay, 1890, p. 1044.

³ Cf. p. 15 of the Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1895-1900 by H. P. Sastri.

⁴ Cf. Deva Sinhā.

may be placed two generations later than Deva Simha and must have lived in the 3rd quarter of the 15th century A.D.

MURĀRI MIŚRA.

He was a son of Kṛṣṇa Miśra¹ and student of Keśava Miśra and Rāma Bhadrā. He is known for his book :²

- (1) Śrāddha-kalpa-tikā.
- (2) Gobhila-gr̥hya-sutra-sabhā-karma-nirṇaya.
- (3) Istikālanirṇaya
- (4) Parvanirṇaya.
- (5) Śubhakarmanirṇaya, written under king Trivikramā Nārāyaṇa, king of Morang (now in Nepal).
- (6) Bhāṣya on the mantras in Pāraskargrihya Sutra.
- (7) Prāyascittamanohara.

He was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa of Sāndila-gotra and of Sodarapuriya-moola.³ He was serving under Mahārāja Trivikramā Nārāyaṇa, king of Morang (now in Nepal).

As student of Keśava Miśra, he may be placed in the second quarter of the 16th century.

He must be distinguished from Murāri, the author of Anargha-raghava.

NARAHARI.

He was son of Narasimha and grandson of Ganesa of Mithilā. He is known for his work Narapati-jayacarya-tikā. His time is not yet certain.

NARAHARI MIŚRA.

He was son of Vācaspati Miśra (Abhinava). He is known for his commentary on *Svarodaya*, an āstrological work. As son of Abhinava Vācaspati Miśra,⁴ he may be placed at the beginning of the 16th century.

He must be distinguished from Narahari Upādhyāya⁵ son of Vajñapati and grandson of Bateśwara.

¹ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 462 (a).

² Cf. do do.

³ Cf. Abhinava Vācaspati Miśra.

⁴ Cf. Narahari, Upādhyāya.

⁵ As evidenced by Panji.

NARAHARI UPĀDHYĀYA

He is a famous writer on Nyāya and author of "Dwaita-Nirṇaya" and Anumanakhanda-dusanoddhāra and Tattva-cintāmani.¹ It appears from his work that he was son of Yajñapati (writer of 'Prabhā') grandson of Śivapati and great-grandson of Paśupati and Bateswara. He is to be distinguished from Narahari, son of Vācaṣpati Miśra, as he calls himself great-grandson of Bateswara and has often criticised Vācaṣpati.

According to popular tradition he was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa of *Mandara-mool* and of *Kaśyapa-gotra*. His time has not yet been settled. But as his father's great-grandfather flourished during the time of Mahārāja Bhaīrava Siṃha,² he may be placed in the middle of the 15th century.

PAṆḌITA NARAPATI JHĀ.

He is traditionally believed to have lived at village Tarauni in the Darbhanga district. He is famous for his erudite knowledge of Vyākaraṇa and Sāhitya. His brother's name is said to have been Paṇḍita Gaṇapati Jhā. He is still remembered for his works³:—

- (1) Gopi-Vallabha Kāvya, and
- (2) Rāghavakīrti-sataka.

in which he describes the time of Mahārāja Rāghava Siṃha of Darbhanga and his predecessor.

¹ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 279 (a) and Vol. II, p. 60 (b). ² Cf. Bhaīrava Siṃha.
³ The table based upon the account given at the end of the book "Dvaita Nirṇaya" by M. M. Parmeswara Jhā of Darbhanga, Samvat, 1964 edition, is useful to some extent in determining his time:—

Bateswara.
 {
 Paśupati.
 {
 Śivapati.
 {
 Jayapati.
 {
 Narahari.

It is traditionally said that Bateswara's daughter's son was Ayaci Bhavanātha Miśra, who flourished in the 1st half of the 15th century—Cf. Bhavanātha and his grandson was Śivapati, whose time also falls in the 1st half of the 15th century. As Narahari was grandson of Śivapati there is no dispute regarding his time.

* These manuscripts are in possession of Paṇḍita Parmeswara Jhā, Librarian to the Mahārāja Bahadur of Darbhanga

Rāghava-kīrti-sataka would show that the author lived in the court of Rājā Raghu Simha. So he may be placed towards the close of the 18th century.¹

PAṆḌITA NILĀMBARA JHĀ.

He is the author of the astrological work Gola-prakāsa. It appears that he migrated to and settled in Patna. It appears that he lived during the reign of Maharāja Śivadāna Simha of Alawar estate in Rajputanā. He is reputed to have written several books. In the final colophon, he calls himself a Maithila. He may be placed in the 19th century.

PADMANĀBHA DATTA.

He belongs to a renowned and long line of Maithila Brāhmaṇas (scholars) and is noted for his famous Vyākaraṇa "Supadma." This grammar is very popular in Central Bengal. From his genealogical account given at the end of the Supadmavyākaraṇa² it appears that he was son of Dāmodara Miśra.

Dāmodara is author of a book (Vāṇibhuṣaṇa) where he says दीर्घ घोषकुलोत्पन्न दामोदर इति वृत्तः

On the basis of this³ the Maithilas say that he belonged to what they call Deeghavaimool section of the Maithila Brāhmaṇas.⁴ But it is still open to question whether Dāmodara, the author of Vāṇibhuṣaṇa, was the

¹ Paṇḍita Parmeśvara Jhā is the 5th in descent from Narapati Jhā. He tells me that Narapati Jhā and his brother Gaṇapati Jhā lived for some time at the court of the Nawab of Patna. Many villages were granted to them in Saran district by the Nawab. But these villages are not now in possession of their descendants.

² As for the genealogy of Padmanabha Miśra, please, Cf. the final slokas of Supadma (Vyākarna) from which it appears that Baiharuci Miśra, Vyasadata Miśra, Durghatta Miśra, Jayaditya Miśra mīmansa, Sripati Miśra, Ganesvara Miśra, Bhanot Miśra, Halayudha Miśra, Sridatta Miśra, Bhavadatta Miśra, Dāmodara Miśra, Padmanabha Miśra all belonged to one family.

³ Cf. the final colophon of Vanibhusana :—

इति मैथिल दीर्घ घोष कुलोद्भूत दामोदर मित्र विरचित वानौभूषणं समाप्तम् ॥

नत्वा श्री श्री निवासं प्रणत जन मनः शङ्कु संचार कालम् । भोतं दृष्ट्वा रि कंसादिजगणं
मनिमं चयमास सुरेशम् ॥ पाणिन्यादिप्रणीतान्यतिविमलधियां शब्दशास्त्राणि दृष्ट्वा ।
पूर्वयुक्तं सदर्थविगमनगुणमाविस्त्रतं तूर्णं मेतत् ॥ दिङ् मावं दर्शितं किन्तु सकलार्थं विकासनम् ।

same person as the father of the author of Supadma Vyākaraṇa. But as he and his ancestors have been called Miśras in the Supadma and as the Bengali Panditas have never been called Miśras it may be taken that he was a Maithila rather than a Bengali.

He gives a list of his books in the last few slokas of Supadma including (1) Supadma Grammar and Pañjika, (2) Prayogadīpika, (3) Uṇādivṛtti, (4) Dhatukaumudī, (5) Yanlugvṛtti, (6) Gopālacarita, (7) Ānandalaharī-tikā, (8) Śiśupālabadhatīka, (9) Chandoratna, (10) Ācāra-candrikā and (11) Bhūriprayoga.

His time is certain, i.e. he lived in the 2nd half of the 14th century as will appear from a śloka of his Prasodarādivṛtti, a part of his Uṇādivṛtti, which his śloka says he composed in the Sāka year 1297, i.e. 1375 A.D.¹

PADMA NĀBHA MIŚRA.

• He was Naiyāyika. He was son of Balabhadra Miśra and brother of Biśwanātha Miśra. The Māithila Pañjis mention his family.

His works are:—

- (1) Rāddhānta-muktāhāra or Siddhānta muktāhāra ;
- (2) Cīntā-maṇi-parikṣā ;
- (3) Bhāskara tikā of Udayanā's Kirṇāwali ; and
- (4) Rāddhānta muktāhāra vyākhyā kaṇāda rahasya.

धैर्यावधेय धीराः औपज्ञानाभ निवेदितम् उक्तो व्याकरणदर्शः सुपद्मस्यास्य पञ्जिका । ततोऽपि
वाल्मीकीय प्रयोगाण्यश्च दीपिका । उणादि इतिरचिता तथाच धातु कौमुदी । तथैव
यङ्लुकोद्धतिः परिभाषा ततः परम् । आनन्दलहरीटीकास्मृतावाधार चन्द्रिका ॥ कोषे भूमि
प्रयोगाण्यो रचितस्तुतः यत्नतः । धीराः औपज्ञानाभेन गृह्यते ह्ययमद्भुतः । मत्कार्यं प्रतिपाल्यावः
पुत्र वन्ममपुस्तिका ।

¹ Cf. H. P. Sastri, Notices, Vol. I, p. 225, No. 228, and verse 10:—

• शके शैल ज वादित्ये चैत्रे मासे रवेः स्थितौ ।

द्विजेन पद्मनाभेन भाषा सृजमिदं कृतम् ॥

• Cf. Final slokas of Bhāskara tika:—

और्विश्वनाथानुजशरीयान् वल्लभद्रजन्मा । तनोति तत्कानधिगूत्सु सर्वां
औपज्ञानाभो विदुषो विनोदम् ॥

He lived after Varddhamāṇa¹ and is traditionally assigned to the 17th century A D.

PARASURĀMA JHĀ.

He was a student of Raghudeva Miśrā. He was a good Nayyāyika and Dharmaśāstrika Paṇḍita. It is traditionally said that he lived in village Jagili (in Purnea district) where he had written many valuable Sanskrit books on palm leaves which are even now in possession of Paṇḍita Parameśvara Jhā, Librarian to the Mahārāja Bahadur of Darbhanga, who is said to be seventh in descent from him. His work Śataśāstra-sāmvāda is a useful composition.² As a student of Raghudeva Miśra, he belongs to the 2nd half of the 17th century.

PĀRTHASĀRATHI MĪŚRA.

He was a son of Yajñātman Mīśrā,³ and author of:—

Tantrarātna.
Nyāyaratnamālā.
Nyāyaratnākara.
Śāstradīpikā.

He is called a Maitīlīa. The Paṇḍitas of Mithilā regard him as Maithila and even point to some individuals

¹ Cf. the śloka (at the beginning of Kīrnāvalītika).

उपदिष्टा गुरुचरणोरसृष्टा वर्धमानेन ।

किरणवल्गुमर्षास्तन्यते पद्मनाभेन ॥

² Cf. the final sentence in Vācāspati Mīśra's Vyavahāra Cintāmaṇi copied by Parasurama.

यज्ञ पक्षीयामे महामहोपाध्याय श्रीरघुदेव सरस्वती नामाज्ञया श्रीपरशुराम शर्माणा
लिखितमिदं पुस्तकम् ॥

शके १५३७

(i.e. 1615, A.D.)

³ This has not yet been published. The manuscript is in possession of M.M. Parmesvara Jha of Darbhanga.

⁴ Cf. the śloka No. 43 in the Prayuktitilaka of Nyāya ratnamālā (Benares) 1900 edition:—

आचार्यसतमाश्रित्य श्रीमदज्ञानाश्रममुना ।

पार्थ सारथि मित्रेण प्रयुक्ति मिलकः कृतः ॥ ४३ ॥

descended from him. But apart from the fact that he was called a Miśra (a surname found in Mithila though not peculiar to it), and that he was a writer on Mīmāṃsā, there is nothing else to connect him with Mithilā. His age is uncertain.

PRADYUMNA

He commented upon Jyotiṣa-Ratnāvali by Sudhakara. He has paid tribute to Bhairava¹ Sinha in his Jyotiṣa ratnāvalī, and it follows that he was either a contemporary of Bhairava Sinha or he lived soon after his age. He may, therefore, be placed in the 1st half of the 16th century.

PRAJNĀKARA.

He was the son of Vidyākara and grandson of Miśra Anandakaraswāmi. He was the author of Subodhani Nalodayatikā. He was a Maithila. His time is not certain.

PREMANIDHI TIAKKURA.

He was a writer on Smṛti. He was the author of Dharmm-ādharma-prabodhini, which consists of 12 chapters. He calls himself son of Indrapati. It appears that he completed his works in Samvat 1410 and that he lived under the Nizam Sahi Rule.² The Nizam Sahi dynasty ruled towards the end of the 15th century and thus he may be placed at the end of the same century. Evidently the Samvat referred to by Premanidhi was Sākā and not Vikrama Samvat. (Saka 1410 = 1488 A.D.)

PURUṢOTTAMA DEVĀ.

He is traditionally known to have been Maithila though his Maithila nationality is very doubtful and no internal or external evidence is available. He is the

¹ A copy of the Jy. Ratnāvali with a commentary exists in the Nepal Raj library at Khatmandoo. Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. 1, page 492.

² Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. II, p. 77b.

³ Aufrecht calls him and his father Maithili.

⁴ Premanidhi says that his family lived at Mahiṣmati in Srimad Ray Nizam Shaha-Visayaṣ, i.e. in the Maratha Country under the Nizam Shahi kings.

author of the lexicon "Trikāṇḍaśeṣa" composed in the 12th or 13th century A.D.¹ under king "Dhṛti Simha."² Trikāṇḍaśeṣa is the first Sanskr̥ta koṣa to name "Tirhut."

Other works popularly attributed to Purusottama Deva or Gajapati Puruṣottama-deva include: (1) Nāmamālikā, a book on prayer, (2) Hārāvali, (3) Mukti-cintāmaṇi and (4) Durgotsava and (5) Bhāṣavṛtti.³ But it is doubtful if the author of the works was identical with the author of Trikāṇḍaśeṣa or that he was a Maithila

RAGHUDEVA MIŚRA (SĀRASWATA).

He was a Māithila Brāhmaṇa of Hariyamaya-mool and of Vatsya-gotra. He was son of Viṣṇu Miśra and a daughter's son of Acyuta Thakkura who was a son of Maheśa Thakkura. He is said to have been a Naiyāyika and a good poet. He was the author of a work called Virudāvali.⁴ Sultan Shahjahan being pleased with his learning conferred upon him the title of Sāraswata and gave him many valuable prizes.⁵ He may be placed in the 2nd half of the 17th century.

PAṆḌITA RAGHUDEVA JHĀ.

He is known for his "Pañji-prabandha" compiled under the orders of Rāja Hari Simha Deva and queen

¹ Macdonald's Sanskrit Literature, page 433, 1905.

² Cf. Krishnamācārya's History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature, 1st edition, page 179. In the Hārāvali he calls himself contemporary of Janmejaya and Dhṛti Simha. It is not known who this Dhṛti Simha was and where he reigned (Cf. Aufrecht, Vol 1, p. 342 (a)).

³ Cf. page 10 of the Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscript by H. P. Sastri, 1906-07 to 1912-13.

⁴ Cf. preface to Bhāṣavṛtti, Śiśa Candia Cakravarty, Rājshahi edition 1918.

⁵ श्रीविश्वेश्वरः भिषगः कुमुदिनी देवी कुमारं कुलालकार समवाप यं गणपतिं गौरीगिरी सादिव ॥ दोहिनोऽप्युत उक्कुरस्य कतिनः श्रीहारिताम्रान्वयः अष्टोत्तौ रघुदेव बालक कविर्विदेह भूषणः ॥ १ ॥

विद्याहृद्य सुखं महीपतिमय श्रीवृद्धिनाथं ततो लक्ष्मीदेव कुलाधिदेव मङ्गलं श्रीमोहन मोहनम् ॥ नला श्रीहरिदेव देव अनुषांशेष्टं वयोभिर्गुणैः कलेभ्यो विरदावलीमिह सदानन्द मुनीन्मलवान् ॥ २ ॥

⁶ Tradition.

Lakṣmidevī. The occasion was a marriage ceremony of two Maithil Brahmins within forbidden limits. The 1st śloka of the "Pañji-prabandha" gives his date (1216 Saka) and so he may be placed at the end of the 13th century¹ A.D.

RĀJASEKHARA

Rājasekhara lived near Patna. His Prabandhaśoṣa is a collection of half-historical tales and biographies in barbarous Sanskrit prose, the style resembling that of the Pancatantra. All his information was obtained from his teacher Tilakasūri, and the work was finished at Delhi in Samvat 1408 (1348 A.D.). His patron was Madanasimha, the son of Jayasimha, an intimate favourite of Muhammad Tughlak Shah.

He belonged to the 14th century and is traditionally said to have been a Maithila. But his Maithila nationality is seriously open to question and no satisfactory evidence is available on this point.

• He is to be distinguished from his name-sake, Rājasekhara, the author of the Sanskrit dramas Viddha-Śula-bhañjika, Karpuramañjari, Bāla-rāmāyaṇa, and Pracanda-pāṇḍava or Bāla-bhārata, and who lived about 900 A.D.

PAṆḌITA RĀMA UPĀDHYĀYA (JHĀ).

He was a son of Paṇḍita Narapati Jhā. He was a very famous Paṇḍita in Mithilā. It is traditionally said that he was one of Rājā Paṇḍitas of Mahārāja Pratāpa Śimha who granted him several villages as Jagir. These Jagirs are said to have been granted to him during the period 1170 to 78 Faśli (year) corresponding to 1763-71 A.D.

१ शक्रे त्रीचरिचिह्नदेव नृपतेर्भूपार्क (१६१६) तुल्योजनिः

तस्माद्वन्नमितेऽब्दे द्विजगणैः पञ्ची प्रवन्धः कृतः ।

• तस्माद्वै द्विजबीजि बंश कक्षितं यद्विष्वक्त्रे पुरा

तद्विप्राय समर्पितं सुकृतिने शान्साय सर्वार्थिने ॥

ब्राह्मणानां समुत्पत्तिं सद्बीजि कथनं तथा

करोति रघुदेवाख्यः पाण्डुः पञ्जीविनिस्तथम् ॥

* Cf. Macdonald, Sanskrit Literature, page 366, 1905.

The account given of him is traditional and is backed up by the name in Mithilā Pañji.

The work "Meghadūta" is ascribed to him.

As a contemporary of Mahārāja Pratāpa Simha,¹ he may be placed towards the close of the 18th century A D.

RĀMABHADRA UPĀDHYĀYA.

His name has been mentioned as a Maithila Pandita of great fame, but I have not come across his manuscripts in Mithila nor have I come across any manuscript or work of Ratisa Upādhyāya who is popularly believed to be his contemporary

In fact there have been several writers called Rāmbhadra, and it is difficult to say which of them was a Maithila, Aufrecht² mentions one Ramabhadra who was Guru of Murāri Miśra (author of Śubhakarma Nirṇaya)

If Murāri Miśra was a Maithila, this Rāmbhadra might have been a Maithil As such he may be placed in the 1st quarter of the 16th century

RAMADĀSA JHĀ.

He was author of "Anandavijaya Nātaka" (Drama) an unpublished work in possession of Pandita Chet-nātha Jhā of Daibhanga. Ramadāsa Jhā calls himself a disciple of Govinda Jhā³ and a contemporary of Rājā Sūndara Thakkura.⁴ As a contemporary of Rājā

¹ Cf. Pratāpa Simha

² Cf. Aufrecht Vol I, page 571 (a)

³ Cf. Murari Misra.

⁴ He is called author of two unpublished dramas, "Nala Chautra" and "Kṛṣṇa Caritra."

⁵ C. f. Ananda Vijaya

नटी—इदं खलु कस्य देवतरोः फलं यच्च गन्धर्वं, राजदिव आर्योऽपि ईदृशो राजते ।

रत्नधारः—इदं हि कात्यायन गोवस्य कुञ्जौली कुलनन्दनस्य,

यस्मिन् गजगतिरोषदण्डक पटेनायस्य रत्नाङ्कुरा

नातन्वन्निवर्ध्निदूरचनयो विख्यात संख्यावताम् ।

श्रीगोविन्दघनेन तेन गुरुणा कावण्य पुण्यात्मसा

सिक्तस्यामर साक्षिनी नवरसं रामस्य रम्यं फलम् ॥

नटी—आर्यसुन्दरनरेणमहमपि भद्रं जानामि ।

रत्नधारः—क इव

Sundara Thakkura,¹ he may be placed in the first half of the 17th century A.D.

RĀMADATTA THAKKURA

He is the author of two works, Vivāhādi-paddhati² and Dāna-paddhati treating of marriage ceremony and gifts. He is a son of Ganeśvara and cousin of Candeśvara.³ As son of Ganeśvara, he may be placed in the 2nd half of the 14th century .

RATNAPĀṆI.

He was son of Acyuta Thakkura, minister of Rājā Śiva Simha and was father of Ravi (author of Kāvya-prakāśa Tīkā). He is accredited with the authorship of Kāvyaadarpaṇa.

As his father was a minister of Rājā Śiva Simha who lived in the 1st half of the 15th century A.D., he may be placed a generation later, i.e. in the 3rd quarter of the 15th century A.D.

RAVI THAKKURA.

He was the author of "Madhumati"⁴ a commentary on the "Kāvya Prakāśa." His father was Ratnapāṇi and his grandfather was Acyuta who was a minister of Rājā Śiva Simha.⁵ As Śiva Simha lived in the 1st half of the 15th century A.D.,⁶ Ravi may be placed two generations later, i.e. at the beginning of the 16th century A.D.

नटी—तर्कं पङ्कजाकारं करोतर इति पण्डितः ।

तदीयं शिष्यो महेशः सुचतरेषां नगतिमण्डितः ॥

स्वजगद्धार—क षष्ठः इति कर पण्डितः ।

• नटी—एतस्य कवेः पुरुष पूर्वः ॥

¹ Cf. Sundara Thakkura.

² This work has been commented upon by Pandita Parmesvara Jha.

³ Cf. genealogical table in the account of Candeśvara.

⁴ Cf. Candeśvara.

⁵ This should not be confounded with "Madhumati" a work by Narasimha Kavirāja—Cf. p. 92, Vol. III, Catalogus Catalogorum, Aufrecht, 1903

⁶ Peterson's 3rd Report, p. 332, introd. verse 3 :—

शिवसिंहान्निधिलेशादवाप श्री संज्ञितां विबुधः

तस्याप्युतस्य स्तुर्बभूव भुवि रत्नपाणिरयम् ॥ [१] ॥

Ratnapāṇi was father of the author Ravi.

⁷ Cf. Śiva Simha.

RUCIDATTA UPĀDHYĀYA.

The following commentaries of his are extant, viz. (1) The Tattva-cintāmaṇi-prakāśa,¹ a commentary on Gaṅgeśa's work in Nyāya, (2) Tarkapāda, (3) Tarka-sāra, (4) The Nyāya-kusumañjali-prakāśa-makaranda, a sub-commentary of Varddhamāna's commentary on Udayanācāryya's Vaiśeṣikā work, (5) Makaranda on Raghudeva's Padārtha Khaṇḍanavyākhyā.

Rucidatta's father was Devadatta and mother Renukā. He was brother of Śaktidatta and Matidatta.² He was a pupil of Jayadeva. He is said to have been nicknamed "Bhoktu,"³

¹ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 528 (a).

Parts of the Tattvacintāmaṇi-prakāśa :—

Upanayalakṣaṇa.

Upādhipūrvapakṣagranthatikā.

Tarkagranthatikā.

Tritiyacakravartilakṣaṇatikā.

Dvitiyacakravartilakṣaṇatikā.

Dvitiyāśvalakṣaṇatikā.

Pakṣatāpūrvapakṣagranthatikā.

Pakṣatāsiddhāntagranthatikā.

Pratijñālakṣaṇatikā.

Pratyakṣavāda.

Pratyakṣaditritaya.

Prathamapragalbhalakṣaṇatikā.

Bādhānta.

Viruddhapūrvapakṣagranthatikā.

Viruddhasiddhāntagranthatikā.

Vyāptyanugamatikā.

Savyabhicārapūrvapakṣagranthatikā.

Savyabhicārasiddhāntagranthatikā.

Samānyaniruktatikā.

Samānyabhāvatikā.

Rucidattiyany.

² Ind. Off. Cat. p. 635, Nos. 1946-7, the end verse 2 :—

श्रीदेवदत्त तनयो विनयोपगूढः श्रीरेणुकाविर लघर्भपुटोपजातः श्रीशक्तिदत्तमतिदत्त
सौदरोयः, सोडुं चकार रुचिदत्तस्तौप्रकाशम् ।

³ Sans. Coll. Cat. III, 544, the Tatta-cinta-maṇi-prakāśa, introd. verse 2 :—

अधित्य रुचिदत्तेन जयदेवाज्जगदुरीः ।

चिन्तामणौ धन्यमणौ प्रकाशोऽयं प्रकाशते ॥

and the final colophon :—

इति श्रीसौदर पुर कुल समुद्भूतमहामहोपाध्यायः श्रीरुचिदत्त ।

विरचिते तल्लिन्तामणि प्रकाशे प्रत्यक्ष परिच्छेदः समाप्तः ॥

⁴ Cf. Bikaner Manuscript Library, at the Fort, Almirah No. 2, Manuscript N. 421, in the leaf 271, Śabdacintāmaṇi Prakāśa.

रुचिदत्ता परनाम्ना भक्तुं इतिना विनायाचम् प्रकटीकृतः प्रकाशो विग्रहः चिन्तामणेः उपरि
(H. P. Sastri's notes in manuscript dated 11-10-10).

He must be older than Śaka 1292 or 1370 A.D. the date of an old manuscript of his Tattvacintāmaṇi-Prakāśa-pratyakṣa-khanda.¹ I have not seen this manuscript, but if his teacher Jayadeva belonged to the latter half of the 15th century A.D. there must be some mistake about this. As he was a pupil of Jayadeva,² he may be placed in the 4th quarter of the 15th century.

RUCIPATI.

He was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa of Khauale-bejauli-mool and of Kaśyapagotra and lived at Vaijoliagrāma. He is known for his commentary on Anargha-rāghava, etc.

He was father of Dhanapati and Harapati who flourished in the latter half of the 15th century.³ He was a Paṇḍita with Mahārāja Bhairava Simha *alias* Hari Nārāyaṇa and thus there is no uncertainty regarding his time. He has mentioned this fact at the beginning of his commentary on Anargharāghava. It was under Rājā Bhairava Simha's order that he undertook this commentary.⁴ He may thus be placed in the first half of the 15th century A.D.

RUDRADHARA Upādhyāya.

He was son of Lakṣmidhara.

He was a famous writer on Smṛti. In the Vrata-paddhati, Rudradhara refers to the sayings of his brother both in the beginning and in the end. In the final colophon of the Śuddhi-viveka, Rudradhara is called the son of Lakṣmidhara and younger brother of Haladhara, who is presumably the brother alluded to. Rudradhara calls

¹ Cf. Peterson's 6th Report, P. 75, N. 190. Also p. 268, J.A.S.B., Vol. XI, 1915.

² Cf. Jayadeva.

³ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 528 (a)

⁴ Cf. Dhanapati.

⁵ Cf. the following sloka :—

श्रीशाल्ववंशजातः । तस्यादेशान्महीशस्य । श्रीरुचिपति रतिश्रुदाः । स्यष्टीकृते सुरारि
बापिवाचः ।

Also the colophon to be found at the end of every part of the commentary :—

इति समस्त प्रक्रिया विराजमान रिपु कंस नारायण भव भक्ति परायण श्रीहरिनारायण
पद्ममलकुल महाराजाधिराज श्रीमत् भैरव सिंहदेव प्रोत्साहित वेजौली दामवास्तव
श्रीशाल्ववंश प्रभव श्रीरुचिपति महोपाध्याय विरचितायामनर्घं राजवटीकार्य प्रथमोऽङ्कः ।

himself vaguely as Śarmmā, but by Govindananda in his Śrāddha, and Śuddhi-kaumudi he is given the title Upādhyāya.

His works are also quoted by Raghunandana, Kamalākara and Nilakantha.¹

His works are:—

- (i) The Varṣa-kṛtya, dealing with a number of festivals and optional fasts, beginning with the Vrata of Behulā.
- (ii) The Vrata-paddhati, a manual of the rites to be performed in connection with Vratas.
- (iii) The Śuddhi-viveka, on purification, in three paricchedas. It should be distinguished from the works of the same name by Śulapāṇi and by Śrināthācāryyacurāṇaṇi.
- (iv) The Śrāddha-viveka, dealing with the funeral rites, in four paricchedas, should be distinguished from the work of the same name by Śulapāṇi, which the author himself has quoted as Gau-riya.

Rudradhara is quoted several times in the Śuddhi Prāyaścitta, Tithi, Kṛtya and Sama-śrāddha-tattvas.² So he must be older than the beginning of the sixteenth century. He quotes the Śuddhi-pradīpa and the Śrāddha-pradīpa, works of Śaṅkara Miśra, though the latter may be the work of Varddhamāna. So his time must be later than the third quarter of the fifteenth century. His time thus falls roughly in the 4th quarter of the same century.³

ŚĀLIKANĀTHA MIŚRA.

He was a pupil of Prabhākara Guru⁴ and is quoted by Citsukha in Mānasayanaprasādini. He is a distinguished writer and is author of:—

¹ Cf. Aufrecht, p. 530 (a), Vol. I.

² Cf. ditto.

³ Cf. p. 405 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XI, Nos. 10 and 11 for November and December, 1915.

⁴ Cf. the 1st sloka, Prakaraṇapancikā (Benares) edition 1904:—

स्वाध्यायविधि वाक्यार्थविचारे प्रयत्नामहे ।

प्रभाकर गुरोर्द्वेष्टा मौमांसारम् सिद्धये ॥ १ ॥

Nyāyāratna.
Prakaraṇapāncikā.
Praśastapādabhāṣyavyākhyā.
Sabarabhāṣyatikā.

The Paṇḍitas of Mithilā look upon him as a Maithila and even point to some families connected with him, but apart from the fact that his surname was a Misra' (a surname not peculiar to Mithilā) there is nothing else to connect him with Mithilā. His age has not yet been fixed.

SAṂKARA MIŚRA.

He is author of "Smṛti Sudhākara." He is to be distinguished from Saṁkara Miśra, son of Bhāvanātha Miśra.

The Alwar Catalogue (N. 1540) shows "Smṛtisudhākara" by Saṁkara.

His Maithila nationality is asserted by himself and he praises king Akbar in the concluding Verses.* So he may be assigned to the 2nd half of the 16th century.

SAṆKARA MISRA.⁵

He was son of Bhavanātha and nephew of Jivanātha. He wrote both on Smṛti and on Darśana, chiefly Vaiśeṣikā. His extant philosophical works are :—

¹ Cf. the final colophon of Prakaraṇapāncikā p. 231 (Benares) edition 1904:—

इति बौधायनिक नाथ मित्र विरचितायां समाप्ता च प्रकरण पञ्चिका ।

² Cf. Saṅkara Miśra, p. 1.

³ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. II, p. 236 (a).

⁴ Introduction verses :—

मैथिलौ चरणरत्नरजितो भैरवेश्वर शिष्योपसर्जितः बागवती सरिदुरीक्षतान्तरः कश्चिदस्ति
विषयोमन्तरः यस्योत्तरं चिन्मात्रिः कुशिकपुत्री यत्र पूर्वस्याम् ॥ चिदशनदौ यदवाच्याम्—पश्चिम
चौमात्रि गण्डकी यत्र ।

and 5 verses in praise of Akbar and 3 verses in praise of Todarmall.

जयति चिति मण्डलम् अकबर नृपतौ ततो महेन्द्र । नाम् । इत्यादि

मनौ अकबर नृपतेः डोडरमल्लस्त्रिम् जयति-इत्यादि ।

⁵ The following śloka by poet Gangadatta in Bhṛṅgadūta, may be quoted (it describes Śaṅkara's village).

मौमांसायाः श्रवणसरसाद्ये सुवीताव की चेत् ।

चिन्ते चित्ते किमपि कविताऽकर्णने कौतुके वा ॥

तत्र भ्रमन बुद्धजन चतुःपाठिकाभिस्तदालम् ।

शोभाशक्तिप्रिय सरिसव ग्राम रत्नं परीयाः ॥

- (i) The *Ātma-tattva-viveka-kalpa-latā*, a commentary on Udayanācāryya's polemical treatise.
- (ii) The *Ānanda-varḍhaṇa*, pleasure-increaser, a commentary on Śrīharṣa's Vedantic *Khaṇḍana-khāṇḍa-khādyā* which is referred to in Pragalbhācāryya's commentary thereon.
- (iii) The *Tattva-cinta-maṇi-mayukṣa*, a commentary on Gaṅgeśa's famous work in Nyāya.
- (iv) The *Tri-sutri-nibandha-vyākhyā*, a sub-commentary on Udayanācāryya's *tikā* on the first three sūtras of Gautama's Nyāya-sūtra. It professes to be a supplement to the *vyākhyā* of the authors of *Prakāśa* (Rucidatta), *Darpaṇa* (Mahesa) and *Udyota* (Vahinipati).
- (v) The *Nyāya-lilāvati-kanṭh-ābhāraṇa*, a commentary on the authoritative Vaiśeṣika work of Vallabhācāryya.
- (vi) The *Bheda-prakāśa* or *Bheda-ratna-prakāśa*, a criticism of the non-dualistic Vedānta, the only original work in philosophy of Śaṅkara as yet found. It is criticised in its turn in the *Samkṣepa-śāriraka* of Sarvajñātmana (ii. 1).
- (vii) The *Vaiśeṣikā-sūtropaskāra*, a commentary on the *Kanāda-sūtras*, in ten *adhyāyas*, each with two *Ahnikas*.¹
- (viii) *Kanādarahasya*.
- (ix) *Khaṇḍana-khanda-khadyatikā*.
- (x) The *Chandogahnikoddhāra*.²
- (xi) The *Prāyascitta-pradīpa*.³ and
- (xii) The *Śrāddha-pradīpa*.⁴

} All on rituals.

The following works are also attributed to him⁵ :—

(1) *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Vinoda Nāṭaka*, (2) *Manobhāva Parabhāva Nāṭaka*, (3) *Rasārṇava*, (4) *Vaiśeṣikā-sūtropaskāra*, (5) *Chandogahnikoddhāra*, (6) *Vadi-vinoda*, (7) *Āmoda* on *Kusumāñjali*, and (8) *Samānya Niruktikrodinya*.

He wrote also, apparently in his younger days a small comedy on the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, the Gauri-

¹ It is the popular commentary on the original Sūtras, and has been printed in the Bibl. Ind. edition.

² Cf. R. Mitra, Notices, Vol. VI, p. 9, No. 1989.

³ Do. Vol. V, p. 286, No. 1965.

⁴ Do. Vol. VII, p. 191, No. 2430.

⁵ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 625.

digambara-prahasanam, which was played at the instance of his father.¹

He wrote on Nyāya Vaiśeṣikā and Smṛti. The beginning and the last of some of his verses bear out his authorship.

The Nepal Darbar Library contains a copy of the Nyāya-varttikā-Tātaparyyatikā made by a Gaudiya Ambasta (=vaidya) named Vasudeva at the Chaupadi (college) of Saṅkara Miśra in the village of Sarsapa (=modern Sarisava) in the Śakā year 1415=1488 A.D.² Also he was the guru of Varddhamāna Upāddhyāya, and as such, he may be placed in the second half of the 15th century.

He must be older than 1462 A.D. in which year a manuscript of his work, Bheda-prakāśa was copied as it is dated the Samvata year 1519.³

Many Maithila *vidwāns* speak of him as “शकरः शकरः साक्षात्” and generally say that he belonged to a very high family.⁴

SARBORUTRIBEDIN.

He was a lawyer of Mithilā. He compiled “Vivāda-Sārārṇava” at the request of Sir W. Jones and may be assigned to the 19th century A.D.

SINHA BHŪPĀLA.

He was a contemporary of King Pratāpa Rudra of the 14th century. His Rasārṇava Sudhākara is a short treatise on poetics. Mallinātha invariably quotes from his work in all his commentaries. His only other work is the Saṅgita-ratnākara-vyākhyā, a treatise on music.⁵

He is identified with some Mithilā ruler of the 14th century, but the question is much disputed.⁷

¹ Cf. H. Sastri Notices, Vol. III, p. 52, No. 83.

² Cf. p. 49, Vol. I, Nepal Catalogue by H. P. Sastri.

³ Cf. Varddhamānopādhyaṃya.

⁴ The Bheda-prakāśa, Samvata 1519 (Hall).

⁵ Saṅkara Miśra is said to have belonged to a family closely related to the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga.

⁶ Page 166 of the History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature by M. Krishna Macaryya, 1st edition.

⁷ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 415(a) where Bhupāla has been identified with Bhojarāja; Aufrecht attributes, however, Saṅgita Sudhākara-Saṅgitaratnākara-tika to Sinha Bhūpāla (Aufrecht) Vol. I, p. 686 (b). This seems to be the same work as Saṅgitaratnākara Vyākhyā(?)

ŚIVĀDITYA MIŚRA.

He is also called Śivācāryya.¹ He is the author of Saptapādārthi, a work on Baisesikā (Nyāya). He is quoted by Gangeśvara in Tattva-cintā-maṇi, and by Harṣa in Khaṇḍanakhāṇḍakhādyā.

The Paṇḍitas of Mithilā look upon him as a Maithilā but apart from the fact that he bore the surname Miśra and that he was a writer on Nyāya, the home of which is Mithilā, there is nothing to connect him with Mithilā. On the other hand, his work was well known in Southern India, where it was commented on by Mādhava Saraswati (16th century A.D.) who has clearly stated that he was a man of Southern India and lived on the bank of the river Kṛṣṇā.²

As he was a predecessor of Gangeśopādhyāya who lived in the 12th century A.D., he cannot date later than the second half of the 11th century A.D.

ŚRĪDATTOPĀDHYĀYA.

He is one of the most important Smṛti writers in Mithilā on Ācāra, i.e. the religious duties of Vājasaneyin (i.e. according to Śukla Yayur Vedā). His works are: (1) Ācāryya Ādarśa (i.e. Ācāra of a Vājasaneyin,³ (2) Chandog-āhnikā (i.e. daily ācāra according to Śāma Veda),⁴ (3)

¹ Cf. the Sanskrit introd. to Saptapādārtha by Tailaṅgā Rāma Sāstrī, Benares edition, 1893 A.D.

² do. do. p. 6.

सौराष्ट्रदेशो ऽखिलदेशवर्त्यः सदाकरो दक्षिणभूमिनिष्ठः। विराजते सच्चगिरीन्द्रसानी यन्नास्ति गोकर्णं महावक्त्रेशः ॥ १ ॥ तद्देशं जन्मा यतिरेकदण्डी सरस्वतीमसक माधवाख्यः। सो ऽयं शिवादित्य कृतेरकार्षीद् व्याख्यामिमां बालसुख प्रथत्यै ॥ २ ॥

माधवाख्ययतीन्द्रेण कृष्णतीरनिवासिना। कृता सप्तपदार्थास्तु टीकेयं मितभाषिणी ॥ ३ ॥

³ Among the nibandhas, the Acār-ādarśa, quotes:—

The Kalpa-taru (1)

Kalpa-taru-kāra (3).

Kāma dhenu (5).

Rājā (? Bhojadeva) (2).

Smṛti-mahārṇava (1).

Harīhara (10).

Halāyudha nibandha (4). Besides these he quotes his own Chandog-āhnikā once.

It is named in the Suddhi-viveka of Rudradhara.

⁴ The Chandog-āhnikā is quoted in Śrīdattopādhyāya's own Acār-ādarśa, and mentions the following nibandhas and nibandha-writers:—

Kalpa-taru (4).

Kalpa-taru-kāra (2).

Kāma-dhenu (7).

Karmma-pradīpa (10).

Gopāla (1).

Chandoga-paddhati (1).

Bhupāla (1).

Mitākṣarā (1).

Ratna-karaṇḍika (1).

Rājā (? Bhojadeva) (3).

Pitr-bhakti (i.e. funeral ceremonies according to Yayura Veda),¹ (4) Śrāddha-kalpa (funeral ceremonies according to Sāma Veda), and (5) Samayapradīpa (i.e. a treatise on the virtues of fast),² (6) Vratasāra and (7) Avasthyādhanapaddhati.

Śraddatta's identity has not as yet been established but he is treated by the Maithilas as having been an authoritative Maithila Smṛti writer. He has also made a separate reference to several Bengal writers in his works. These and other considerations place him in Mithila.

His works are quoted by Kamalākara, Divakara, Acārārka, Devanatha, Raghunandana, Ratnapaṇi, Rudradhara and Vācāspati Miśra. Aufrecht calls him Maithila.

His posterior limit is fixed by the quotations from his works in the Ratnakara and by the mention of his name therein.³ So he must be older than 1314 A.D. His upper limit is arrived at by his naming Harihara Miśra

Śrāddha-kalpa (1).

Smṛti-manjusa, dakṣiṇadeśīya.

Smṛti-maharṇava (1).

(Smṛti-) maharṇava-prakāśa (3).

It is named in the Pitr-bhakti-taranginī of Vācāspati Miśra, the grhastha-ratnākara of Candēśvara, the Gangā-vākyāvalī of Vidyapati, and the Gaṅgā-bhakti-taranginī of Gaṇapati. Sankara Miśra wrote a supplement to it, the Chāndog-āhnik-oddhāra.

¹ The Pitr-bhakti was written after consulting the Kāṭiya kalpa with Kaika's Bhāṣya, and the opinions of Bhūpāla and Gopāla (nibandhakāras). It is mentioned in the Śrāddha cintāmaṇi of Vācāspati Miśra, and in the Śrāddha-viveka of Rudradhara as old (prācīna). It quotes:—

Karka (1).

Kaika-bhāṣya (2).

Kalpa-taru (4).

Kalpa-taru-kūya (5).

Kāma-dhenu (5).

Gopāla (1).

Chaudoga-srāddha-kalpa (1).

Bhūpāla (1).

Mitākṣara (1).

Ratna-karandikā (1).

Rājā (? Vhojādeva) (3).

Sobhākara (1).

Smṛti-mañjari (2).

Smṛti mañjuṣa (1).

(Smṛti) maharṇava-prakāśa (1).

Halāyudhiya Śrāddh-adhyāya (3).

² The Samaya-pradīpa, a standard work on Vratas. It was often quoted, i.e. in the Kṛtyaratnākara of Candēśvara (12 times), the Pitr-bhakti taranginī of Vācāspati Miśra, the Varṣakṛtya of Rudradhara (11 times) the Malamasa and the Ekādaśī tattvas of Raghunandana. It quotes:—

Kalpa-taru (5).

Kalpa-taru-kara (1).

Karmma-pradīpa (1).

Kāma-dhenu (1).

Jitāmītra (1).

Bhūpāla (2).

Yogisvara (3).

Rājā (1).

Śrāddha-kalpa (2).

Śrāddhy-adhyāya (1).

Harihara (4).

The Gauras, Gaura-grantha, Gaura-Smṛti and Gauranibandha have been several times referred to.

³ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 668.

⁴ Cf. p. 381 of Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XI, for Nov.

and quoting from Harihara's Bhāṣyas Harihara is often mentioned in Hemadri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (Pariśeṣa-khanda) and is therefore older than the 4th quarter of the 13th century. In his Bhāṣyas Harihara names the Kalpa-taru-kara (1st half of the 12th century) and certain later commentators of Pāraskara-gr̥hya-sūtra, such as Vāsudeva Dikṣita and Reṇu Dikṣita. So at any rate Harihara cannot be later than the 3rd quarter of the 13th century. Then Śrīdatta may be placed in the last decade of the same century, as a contemporary of Hemādri¹

In his grammatical Paribhāṣa, the well-known founder of the Supadma School, Padmanābha Datta, calls himself "Śrīdatt-atmaja-sununā." If this Śrīdatta be identical with the Smṛti-writer then two generations intervened. Padmanābha Datta wrote the Prasodara-vṛtti in 1375 A.D.²

Consequently Śrīdatta cannot be earlier than the beginning of the 14th century³

ŚRĪDATTA MIŚRA

Another writer on Smṛti. His extant works are:—

- (1) Ekā-agni-dāna-paddhati, dealing with gifts or *Dāna*;
- (2) Puraṣcaraṇa-paddhati, dealing with the ceremonies introductory to the performance of certain rites;
- (3) Avasthyā-dhāna-paddhati, dealing with the es-

and December, 1915. It is, however, traditionally said that Candēvara Maṭha, author of Ratnākara flourished during the time of Maharāja Harasimha Deva (of Karnata dynasty) and Bhavasimha Deva (Oinwara Maithila Brāhmaṇa Rājā) and Śrīdatta flourished at the time of Devasimha, son of aforesaid Bhavasimha Deva.

¹ Page 381 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XI, for November and December, 1915.

² It may be stated that Śrīdattopadhyaya was the elder brother of Rudradhar Upadhyaya, a famous writer on Smṛti-nibandha; such as Śrāddha-viveka, Suddhi-viveka, Vrat paddhati, etc. This appears from the colophon in Vratapaddhati as quoted below:—

एष श्रीमदुद्घाट चरणो जितः समय प्रदीपा धनसारी पन्थाः ।

³ Dr. Har Prasad Sāstrī in his report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts (1901-02 to 1905-06), page 6, writes:—

"Śrīdatta, a Maithila Brāhmaṇa, who flourished during the reign of Devasimha, wrote a paddhati which is to be found in the Nepal Catalogue. The same Śrīdatta wrote a work on Śrāddha, entitled Pitibhakti, which has been acquired."

establishment of domestic fire according to Vedic rites ;

(4) Pitibhakti, a work on Srāddha

Śridatta was the son of Nageśvara Miśra and bore the title of Avasthika ¹

He was a contemporary of Rājā Deva Simha ²

Śridatta had a younger brother Narasimha, whose son, Madhusudana, wrote the astrological work Jyotisa-pradipa-ankura.

It appears from the final colophon in the Nepal Manuscript that the Ekāgni-dāna paddhati was copied in the La Sam 299 corresponding to 1418 A.D. Thus Śridatta Miśra may be placed in the 1st half of 15th century.³

This conclusion as to his date is also confirmed by the facts : (1) that Rājā Dhirasimha (whose contemporary Śridatta was) died in La. Sam. 293 or, 413 A.D.; and (2) that Śridatta's nephew Madhusudana wrote Jyotiṣapādi-pānkura during the lifetime of Rājā Dhira Simha who surely lived in La. Sam. 321, i.e. 1441 A.D. Thus Dhira-

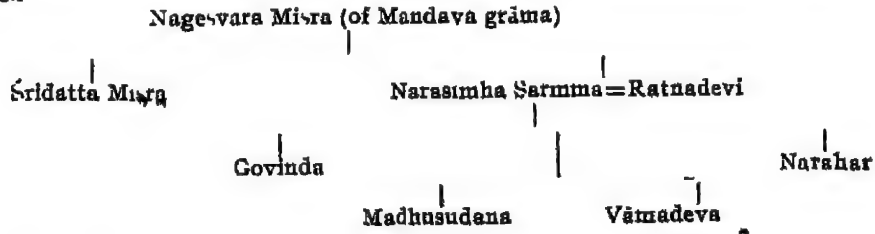
¹ Cf. Nepal MSS. Notices, p. 129, final colophon —

इति महासहोपाध्याय मिय श्रीनगेन्द्रराज्जा वसथिक + + + + (महासहोपा) ध्याय
श्रीश्रीरत्नपद्मतावेकाग्रिविधि महादानविधानं पूर्णम् । समान्नोऽय ग्रन्थः (शुभमस्तु) स्व २९९
पौष शुद्धि ८ चन्द्रे महासहोपाध्याय श्रीनरः (सिंहशर्मा १) महानुभा वातामनुज्ञासवाय
सरण्यां वासमासाद्य श्रीधनेन्द्रेण लिखितैषां पुस्तिति ।

² Cf. Nepal MSS. Notices, p. 129, introd. verse.—

सम्यक् ताननगेन्द्रराज् बङ्गगुणाद् वैशेषिकान्वितिकौम्
वेदव्याकरणाधीत्य निखिलं काव्यादिक ज्योतिषम् ॥
दातुः ससदि सम्मतीनरपतेः श्रीदेवसिंहस्य स ।
श्रीदत्तो वितनोति पद्मलि मिसामेकाग्रि दानोचिताम् ॥

³ Cf. India Office Catalogue, p. 1066 (No. 3004) where the end verses deal with the names of Madhusudana's relations, on which the following family chart is based.—



⁴ Cf. H. P. Sastri Notices, p. 129, Nepal MSS.

sinha-belongs in any case to the 1st half of the 15th century.

ŚRĪ NIVĀSA MIŚRA.

He was a preceptor of Padmanābha Miśra, the author of *Supadmavyākaraṇa*.¹ He is known as the author of the book "Adbhuta Śāgara" found in Mithilā and attributed to Sri Nivāsa Miśra though there is another Adbhuta-sāgara attributed to Ballala Sena (Aufrecht, vol 3).

Śrī Nivāsa Miśra's time has not as yet been settled and all that can be said is that his name appears in Maithila Pañji and that popular tradition assigns him to the 14th century. It is sometimes doubted if the author of Adbhuta-sāgara was a Maithila. Aufrecht has attributed "Adbhuta-sāgara-Sāra" apparently a commentary on "Adbhutasagara" to one Śrīpati.² If Padmanābha Miśra was a Maithila, Śrī Nivāsa Miśra might have been a Maithila. The surname of Miśra shows that they were Maithilas rather than Bengalis.

SUBHANKARA THAKKURA.

He is identified with Subhankara Thakkura, the successor of Maheśa Thakkura, the founder of the Darbhanga Rāj, and is accredited with the authorship of (1) *Tithinirṇaya*; and (2) *Śrīhastā Muktaṭvali*. He may be assigned to the end of the 16th century.

SUCARITA MIŚRA.

He is the author of "Kāśika" a commentary on the *Sloka-varttika* of Bhaṭṭa Kumārilla. This is quite different from the work of the same name by Vaidyanātha Pāyagūṇḍa, which is a commentary on the grammatical work *Paribhāṣendu Śekhara*. In the colophon, the author calls himself *Upādhyāya* and this makes his Maithila nationality very probable, especially as Maithila traditions regard him as Maithila.

¹ Cf. the sloka in the *Supadma Vyākaraṇa* :—

मला श्रीश्रीनिवास प्रणत जन्मनः शंकु संचारकालम्

² Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. III, page 139(b)

³ इत्युपाध्याय सुचरितमित्रलालौ काशिकायाम् वेदाधिकरणम् समाप्तम् ॥

A copy of this work was made in Vikrama Samvata 1633¹=1576 A.D. So he must have lived earlier than 1576 A.D. and may be assigned to the 1st half of the 16th century A.D.

SUDHĀKARA.

He is known as the author of the Astrological work 'Ratnāvali.' It appears from the Ratnāvali that he was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa of Khauale-moola.²

A commentary on Ratnāvali is ascribed to Pradyumna⁴ who flourished in the 1st half of 16th century and who was a pupil of Sudhākara. He flourished during the time of Bhairava Simha⁵. Thus it is certain that our author flourished at the beginning of the 16th century.

UDAYANĀCĀRYA.

The greatest follower of Vācaspati Miśra in Mithilā in the Navya Nyāya school was Udayanācārya who wrote his Kirnāvali. in the śākā year 906⁶ or about 984 A.D. His famous works, in which he has attacked the Jains and the Buddhists and others, are: (1) Ātma-tattva-viveka, or Baudha-dhikkāra; (2) Nyāya-Kuśumāñjali; and (3) Lakṣanāvali.

१ हर नेत्राणि पङ्क्तु भूमिमिते विज्ञप्ते भ्रुजः
शाकाब्द + + + इषे शुक्ले नागतिथा वदः
काशिका पुस्तकम् काश्याम् भट्टमाधव खलुना
स्वपाठार्थम् पटुधिया रघुनाथेन पूरितम् ॥

² Cf. Ratnāvali

खौआले मूलः बोधयं निध्या वुद्धाया खौआल कुमुदा करम् ।
प्रसूतौति सुकवतन्तं ज्योतिषे त्री सुधाकरः ।

Cf. also the śloka at the commencement of the "Samayasuddhi," Dwaita Nirṇaya (Vacaspati):—

बोधयन्निदया वुद्ध्या खौआल कुमुदाकरम् ।
प्रसूतौति सुकवतन्तं ज्योतिषे त्री सुधाकरः ॥
त्रौपत्यादि निवन्धेभ्यः किञ्चिदाह्वयं स्निह्यते ।
शिष्टानां व्यवहाराय सन्तः कुर्वन्तु सन्ततिम् ॥

³ Cf. Manuscript of this work to be found in the Rāj Library, Darbhanga

⁴ Cf. Pradyumna.

⁵ Cf. Bhairava Simha.

⁶ Cf. the last but one verse of the Lakṣanāvali

तर्काम्बराङ्ग प्रमितेभ्योतेषु शकान्ततः
वर्षेभ्यः दयनस्यो सुवीधा लक्षणावलीम् ॥

The following works are also attributed to him :—¹

(1) Acāryamatarahaśya vaiśa ; (2) Kanādaśutrabhāṣya ; (3) Kirṇāvali (Guṇakiraṇāvali, Dravyakiraṇāvali),² Nyāyakuśumāñjali ; (5) Nyāyavarttikatātparyapariśuddhi, and Bodhasiddhi.

Udayan's works are more popular in Mithilā than even in Bengal or any other part of the country and that is particularly why he has been taken to be a Maithila. I have not come across any reference to or quotation from his work to show that he admitted himself to be a Maithila. He holds the same position in the Navya Vaiśeṣikā schools as Sankara holds in the Vedānta.

It may not be amiss to say that Udayana is known throughout India as having been one of the greatest adversaries of the Buddhist faith.

His time is certain as he himself says at the end of the Lakṣṇāvali that he lived in the sākā year 906, i.e. 984 A.D.

UMĀPATI UPĀDHYĀYA.

He is known for his book Pārijātaḥaraṇa, a drama in mixed Maithila and Sanskrit. The Pārijātaḥaraṇa is a drama of the *rupaka* class. Nārada presented a pārijāta flower to Kṛṣṇa which he gave to Rukmiṇi. Satyabhāmā was enraged and Kṛṣṇa sent to Indra for some more, which he refused to give. Thereupon there was a war wherein he was defeated and Satyabhāmā was propitiated. The plot is well constructed and the characters are well developed. Arjuna, as an assistant to Kṛṣṇa, plays an important part. The descriptions are imaginative and the contrast between the wives of Kṛṣṇa is successfully brought out.

According to Dr. Grierson, he was an inhabitant of village Koilaka in the Bhaur Parganah of the Darbhanga district. He was a courtier to the Rājaputa Prince of Mithilā, 6th in descent from Nānyadeva, named Harisim-

¹ Cf. Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum, Leipzig 1891, Vol. I, p. 65.

² It is traditionally asserted by several Maithila Panditas that he lived in village Kariāun in the Samastipur sub-division and the place where he used to teach, is still locally pointed out. His descendants in the village are still called Acāryya.

³ Another tradition assigns him to Mahwa, about 29 miles to the north of Madhepur in Bhagalpur, and his descendants are pointed out in village Karama close by.

hadeva who is famous in Mithilā as the originator of the Panji or the genealogical records of members of the Brāhmaṇas, Kāyasthas and other castes and who did much the same for Tirhut as Ballālasena had done a century previously for Bengal. Accordingly Dr. Grierson thinks that Umāpati Upādhyāya flourished between 1304 to 1324 A.D.¹ I have heard from several sources in Mithila that Umāpati Upādhyāya was a contemporary of Pandita Gokula Nātha Upādhyāya who flourished in Mahārāja Rāghava Siṃha's time (1701-1739). He was a Pandita of Rājā Harihara of Mekmani in Nepal. It rests however on tradition. This brings him from the 14th to the 1st quarter of the 18th century A.D.²

(OLD) VĀCASPATI MIŚRA.

Vācaspati Miśra was the greatest commentator on Navya-Nyāya and was a Maithilā.—It is said of him traditionally “शंकर वाचस्पत्योः शंकर वाचस्पतीसदृशौ” of Shankar and Vacaspati both are equal.

His most famous work is the Nyāya-Vārttika-tātpariyāyā-tikā, in five adhyāyas, which fully expounds the sūtras of Gautama and which specially answers the objections raised by the scholars of the Buddhistic and the Jainā schools. His works are full of theistic and untheistic

¹ Cf. pages 20-98, Volume III, part I of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society where an account of the Parijātaharana has been published by Dr. Grierson.

² Cf. “The Date of Umāpati” by Dr. G. Grierson, pages 552-554, Vol. III, part IV of Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, December, 1917.

This independent Chieftain Harihara is traditionally assigned to Makamani, off the B. and N.W. Railway Station Bhaptahi, in the Saptari Pargana, in Nepal Tarai and is said, at the beginning of the Parijataharana, to have vanquished Yavanas (Muslim):—

यस्यास्यं पूर्णचन्द्रः स्ववचनममृतं दृग्जय श्रीश्च सखीः दोः सभः पारिजातोभुङ्क्तेऽस्मिता
सङ्गरिकालकूटः तीव्रवेजोऽग्निरौर्वः पद् भजनपरा राजराज्यस्यद्विन्यः पारावारो गुणानामयमतुल-
गुणः पातुवो मैथिलेशः ॥ १ ॥

स्व.० आदिष्टोऽस्मि यवनवनच्छेदनकरालकरवालीन त्रिच्छेदगतचतुर्वेद पथप्रकाशक प्रता-
पेन भगवतः श्रीविष्णोर्दशमावतारेण हिन्दूपति श्री हरिहरदेवेन यथा उमापत्युपाध्याय विरचितं
नवपारिजात संग्रहमभिनवीय वीररसावेशं समपन्तु भवन्तो भूपालमण्डलस्य । तद् गीयतां
संग्रहम् ॥

Cf. Parijataharana edited by Pandita Cetanatha Jhā, Mithilā Mithira Press (1917), Darbhanga.

discussions. Some of his other works are: (1) Nyāya kaṇikā; (2) Tatva samikṣā; (3) Tatva-bindu; (4) Sāmkhya tatva-kāumudī; (5) Yoga-Bhāṣya Vivṛtti; (6) Vedānta sārīrikabhāṣya bhāmati; (7) Nyāya-sūci-nibandha; (8) Tatva Sārādā; (9) Nyāya tattva-avaloka; (10) Nyāya-sūtroddhāra; (11) Nyāya Ratnatikā; (12) Brahma-tattva sangitodīpinī; (13) Yuktidīpikā; (14) Vācaspatya and; (15) Vedānta tattva Kaumudī.¹

Macdonell in his "Sanskrit Literature," page 393 attributes a commentary on the Samkhya-kārikā to Vācaspati Miśra who according to him lived in the 12th century A.D. As Vācaspati Miśra's date is fixed by his own statement that he lived about the ninth century A.D. obviously this was another writer and should not be confounded with the author of the Nyāya-vārttika tattva-tātparyya-tikā, who is generally known as the *br̥ddha* (old) Vācaspati Miśra. But as an alternative, it may be assumed that the writer of the commentary on the Samkhya kārikā was identical with our author and belonged to the ninth century A.D.

The panegyric embodied in the stone tablet at the Ananta Vaśudeva temple at Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa throws a good deal of light on the state of learning and state of society in Bengal at the end of the tenth century A.D. The panegyric was written by a young scholar named Vācaspati Miśra, who is supposed to have bloomed in later life as the commentator of all the six systems of Hindu Philosophy.²

It is not certain whether Vācaspati Miśra of the Bhuvaneśvara temple had any connection with our author, Vācaspati Miśra.

Vācaspati Miśra was followed by Jayanta. His age is not exactly determined yet.

One Rāghavānanda, disciple of Ādya-Bhāṅvata who was disciple of Viśveśvara has written a commentary on the "Samkhya Tattva-Kaumudī" but it is not known if he was a Maithila.³ Amalānanda, southern Indian writer, wrote a commentary called Vedānta Kalpa Tāfu on Vacas-

¹ Cf. Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum Vols : I, III.

² Cf. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, June, 1919, p. 176.

³ Cf. p. 13 of Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts 1895-1900 by H. P. Sastri.

pati, is Bhāṣya Bhāmati and flourished about the middle of the 13th century A.D.¹

He lived in the Samvat Vikramāditya 898 corresponding to A.D. 841 in which year his Nyāya-Śūci-Nibandha was completed.

“न्याय सूचीनिबन्धोऽष्टावकारि सुधियां सुदे ।
श्रीवाचस्पतिमित्रेण वल्लभं सुवत्सरे ॥”

VARDDHAMĀNOPĀDHYĀYA.

He was a distinguished writer on Smṛti, and an employee of the Mithilā king. He calls himself son of the poet Bhavēṣa in the Vilva-pancaka² family and of Bhārdwājagotra.³ He calls himself Upādhyāya in some of his colophons.⁴ He calls Vācaspati⁵ and Śaṅkara as his Guravah. It appears that Gaṇḍaka Miśra was his brother.⁶

His well known works are :—

- (i) The Gaṅgā-kṛtya-Viveka, a discussion of the texts on the rites to be performed on the banks of the sacred river Ganges;
- (ii) The Gayā-paddhati, a manual of the rites to be performed at Gaya;
- (iii) The Gaya-vidhi-viveka, or a discussion of the rules for performing the Śrāddha at Gayā;
- (iv) The Daṇḍa-viveka, an elaborate discussion of the

¹ Cf. Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, XVIII, 89; also Transaction of the ninth Congress of the Orientalists, I, 423.

² Cf. Smṛti-tattvāmṛta and Paribhāṣa-Viveka.

³ Cf. Gaṅgā kṛtya viveka.

In the final colophon of the Daṇḍa-viveka he is called Dharmamādhikāraṇika or judge, and in the Smṛtitattvāmṛta he is called Mahā-dharmamādhikāri or chief judge.

⁴ Local tradition asserts that his mother's name was Garuṇi. He lived in village Nari-bhadauna. One of his tanks called Mathi-āhi is still found in village Asī in Darbhanga and there is a temple of Viṣṇu and Garuṇa on the bank of the tank. The images of Viṣṇu and Garuṇa were found by the excavation in the year 1281 Fasli corresponding to 1874 A.D. during the famine period.

There is a village called Dekuli near Laheriasaral Kutchery in which there is an image called “God Śiva Varddhamāneśwara” established by him.

⁵ Abhinava Vācaspati Miśra, who lived during the time of Rāmaphadra must, however, have been his contemporary. Abhinava Vācaspati Miśra has referred to Varddhamāna's Smṛti-paribhāṣā in the Śrāddha-cintāmaṇi and the Kṛtya Mahārāya and has also mentioned him in the Dwaṭanirṇaya. They had mutual respect for each other.

⁶ Cf. the Daṇḍa-viveka (As. Soc. MS., p. 1) introductory verse 6 :—

व्यायान् गण्डकमित्रः शंकर वाचस्पती च मे गुरवः ।

निखिल निबन्ध समाप्त प्रथासमेनं समानु जानन्तु ॥”

- texts treating of punishment in the civil and criminal law, in seven paricchedas ;
- (v) The Dvaita-viveka, a discussion of the doubtful points of smṛti ;
- (vi) The Paribhāṣā-viveka, a discussion of various smṛtic matters including definitions of technical terms ;
- (vii) The Śrāddha-pradīpa or lamp of funeral ceremonies ;
- (viii) The Smṛti-tattvamṛta or Smṛti-tattva-viveka, a general digest of smṛti with discussion ;
- (ix) The (Smṛti) Tattva-amṛta-sār-oddhāra, or the extract of the essence of his own Tattvāmṛta (No. 8) ;
- (x) The Smṛti-paribhāṣā, on the definition of Smṛtic-technical terms, with discussion of the appropriate times and other matters ; and
- (xi) Jalāsayādi-vastu-vidhi, śānti-paustic-viveka, etc., etc.
- (xii) Nāmā Sāstrārtha Nirṇaya.

He flourished in the time of Mithilā rulers Bhairava (cf. Daṇḍa-viveka) and Rāma Bhadra (cf. his *Gaṅga-Kṛtya-viveka* and *Tattvāmṛta Sār-oddhāra*).¹ It appears that a manuscript of his *Gaṅga-kṛtya-viveka* was written in the year La. Sam. 376, i.e. 1496 A.D. So he may be placed between 1450 A.D. and 1550. This Varddhamāna must be distinguished from Varddhamāna, son of Gangēśopādhyāya who lived in the 13th century.

VARDDHAMĀNOPĀDHYĀYA.

Varddhamāna has spoken of Gaṅgeśwara as his father and preceptor as will appear from *Līlāvati Prakāśa*. He wrote on Nyāya¹ :—

- (i) The *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-prakāśa*, a commentary on

¹ This Varddhamānopādhyāya should be distinguished from the Nāyāyika of the same name, son of Gangēśopādhyāya who flourished in the 13th century. For this reason Raghunandan often calls the Smṛti-writer Navya-Varddhamāna (the modern Varddhamāna)

न्यायाञ्जलिपत्रिकाय मौमांसापार दर्शने ।

गङ्गेश्वराय गुरवे पित्रेऽपि भवते नमः ॥

- his father's work, to be distinguished from a work of the same name by Rucidatta :¹
- (ii) The Nyāya-nibandha-prakāśa, a commentary on Udayanācāryya's Nyāya-varṭtika-tātparyya-parīśudahi;
 - (iii) The Nyāya-parīśiṣṭa-prakāśa, a commentary on Udayanācāryya's Nyāya-parīśiṣṭa, quoted in his own No. vi, and in Jayadeva's Āloka;
 - (iv) The Prameya-nibandha-prakāśa, which may be the same as the Prameya-tatīva-bodha, quoted as his by Rucidatta in the Nyāya-kusum-āñjali-prakāśa-makaranda²;
 - (v) The Kirṇāvali-prakāśa, a commentary on Udayanācāryya's work, in two sections,—Dravya and Guṇa;
 - (vi) The Nyāya-kusum-āñjali-prakāśa, a commentary on Udayanā's famous polemical work; quoted by Haridāsa Bhaṭṭācāryya in his Kusum-āñjali-tīkā and commented upon by Rucidatta³.
 - (vii) The Nyāya-līlāvati-prakāśa, a commentary on Vallabhācāryya's work—quoted in Jayadeva's Āloka;
 - (viii) The Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khāḍya-prakāśa, a commentary on Śrīharṣa's famous work, referred to in Pragalbhācāryya's commentary (the Khandanoddhāra).⁴

Varddhamāna Mahopādhyāya is named in the Sarvadar-saṅgagraha of Mādhavācāryya, under No. xiii, Pāṇinidarsana. So he must be older than the 2nd half of the 14th century. Also he must be older than Jayadeva, who commented on two of his Vaiśeṣika works. Jayadeva's time cannot be earlier than the 1st half of the 15th century.⁴ He speaks of Varddhamāna reverently as "Mahāmahopādhyāya-caraṇah"; and so a fair interval must have elapsed between the two.

There is, however, a manuscript of the Kusumanjali Prakāśa by Varddhamāna in the Government collections in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, MS. No. 794 and is written in two different hands, of which the latter is a restoration

¹ For a MS. cf. the Beuares College Catalogue, 193.

² The Bib. Ind. ed. the Kusumanjali Prakāśa I, p. 384.

³ Sans Coll. III, 199, No. 314.

⁴ Cf. Jayadeva.

dated Saka 1342=A.D. 1420, the earlier portions being written in script at least 70 to 100 years older, because the figure 3 is represented therein as Bengalee ३. Professor Bendall says that the use of ३ for ३ is found between 1300 and 1360 A.D.; cf. plate in his Cambridge Catalogue. This will place the manuscript about 1340 A.D. and show that Vardhamana must have lived in the 13th century A.D.

VAṆGAMAṆI.

Sangitabhāṣkāra is a commentary on the music art. It was composed by Jagajjyotirmalla with the help of a Maithila Paṇḍita Vaṅgamaṇi. The same royal author composed a work on music entitled Sangīta Sārasaṅgraha. Bīahmā is said to be the primordial founder of the art of music, dancing and dramaturgy and he gave it to Bharata who composed a large work in hundred thousand slokas. The Rājā says that it is not known whether this work still exists or not, but that he consulted the short work of Bharata,¹ and of Bipradāsa and all other works that came within his purview.²

As a contemporary of Jagajjyotirmalla, he may be placed in the 1st half of the 17th century³ A.D.

VAMŚA MAṆI.

Gita-digambara is a drama written in imitation of the inimitable Gitagovinda of Jayadeva. It was written by Vamśamaṇi, a Maithila Brāhmaṇa whose father was Rāmacandra. The author lived in Nepal and wrote this work shortly after the performance of the gift of Tulāpuruṣa by Pratāpamalladeva about the beginning of the 17th century.⁴

VĀŚUDEVA MIŚRA.

He wrote a commentary on the Tattva-cintā-maṇi of Gaṅgeśa.⁵

¹ Chapters in the Agnīpurāṇa are meant, I believe.

² Cf. H. P. Sastri's report on Sanskrit Manuscripts 1895-1900, page 11.

³ Jagajjyotirmalla was a Nepal king of the 15th century. Cf. Duff's Chronology of India, 1899, page 262. But Bendall assigns him to the 1st half of the 17th century A.D. Cf. p. 30 of Bendall's History of Nepal, in H. P. Sastri's Catalogue, Vol. I.

⁴ H. P. Sastri's report on Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1895-1900, page 18. Also Aufrecht Volume III, p. 33 (b).

⁵ The Cintā-maṇi-tikā (Ind. Off. Cat., page 632, No. 1939), introd. verse 2 :—

In the final colophon he is described as nephew of Pakṣadhara Miśra, and is given the title Nyāya-siddhānta-sārābhijña, expert in the essence of logical conclusions. He wrote his work for the understanding of those who found fault with the words of his guru Jayadeva. As nephew of Jayadeva¹ his time falls in the 4th quarter of the 15th century.

VIDYĀKARA MIŚRA.

He was a Maithila and is accredited with the authorship of Rākṣasa-kāvyaṭikā. He is assigned to the 19th century A.D.

VIDYĀPATI THAKKURA.²

He is known as the most versatile and distinguished scholar of Mithilā. He has written on almost all branches of learning. He lived under the patronage of the then ruling family of Mithilā, i.e. that of Kāmeśvara and has attributed most of his works to the members of his family.³ Vidyāpati is traditionally said to have be-

जयदेव गुरोर्वाचि ये केचिद्दोष दर्शिनः ।

प्रबोधाय नया तेषां दीप्तिर्भूयोऽभिदीप्यते ॥

and the final colophon of the Anumāna-khaṇḍa :—

इति त्रैन्यायसिद्धान्तसाराभिज्ञमित्र वर्षपञ्चधरमित्रघाटपुत्र न्यायसिद्धान्तसाराभिज्ञवासुदेव मित्र
विरचितायां चिन्तामणि टीकायाः ।

¹ Cf. Jayadeva.

² For one who wants to study Vidyāpati thoroughly, Vidyāpati's Padāvali by Nagendra Nātha Gupta published at the instance of the late Mr. Saroda Carana Mitra (printed at the Calcutta Kuntalin Press, 1316 F. edition), is recommended.

³ The works with the names of the royal member against each, are chronologically arranged :—

- (i) The Kīrti-latā, mixed Sanskrit and Maithili poem in praise of Kīrti-simha (and Virasimha).
- (ii) The Bhu-parikrama-grantha, moral tales told to Baladeva during his travel to Janaka-deśa, by order of Devasimha (names his son Śivasimha).
- (iii) The Puruṣa-parikṣā, moral tales, by order of Śivasimha (expanded from No. ii).
- (iv) The Kīrti-patākā, an amatory poem in Maithili, in the time of Śivasimha.
- (v) The Padāvali, Maithili songs about Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, the work by which, Vidyāpati's best known, and on which his fame rests. A large number of the songs has at the end the names of Śivasimha and his queens, and a few of Devasimha and his queen. Occasional verses mention Bhogisvara, Arjunasimha, Amarasimha, Rāghavasimha, and Rudrasimha.
- (vi) The Līkhanāvali, on letter-writing, attributed to Rājā Purāditya who killed Arjuna (Simha).
- (vii) The Gaṅga-vākyāvali on the religious rites in connection with the Gaṅges, attributed to Viśvāsadevi, queen of Padmasimha.

longed to the family of Gaṇeśvara Miśra¹ but he does not say so in any of his works and in fact he has not given any information regarding his family connection.

His songs are most widely known and sung not only in Mithilā but also in Bengal.

We must recognize the great services rendered by Dr. Grierson to the cause of Mithilā literature and especially to the popularization of the works of Vidyāpati Thakkura. It was he who first collected the most popular songs of Vidyāpati and published them under the auspices of the Bengal Asiatic Society. He has commented on the traditions relating to Vidyāpati in the Indian Antiquary and Journals of the Bengal Asiatic Society. But it cannot be said, as subsequent discoveries have shown, that Dr. Grierson succeeded in obtaining all the songs of Vidyāpati.

The extent of his works shows that he must have lived to a good old age. The following is a list of his works² :—

- (i) The Gaṅgā-vākyāvali,³ dealing with various rites and duties to be observed on the banks of the sacred river Ganges (a work on Smṛti).

(viii) The Śaiva-sarvasva-sāra, on the essence of the Śaiva-worship, attributed to Viśvāsadevi.

(ix) The Dāna-vākyāvali, on the religious gifts and their ceremonies, attributed to Dhīramatidevi, queen of Narasimhadeva.

(x) The Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgīnī, on the pramāṇa and the prayoga of Durgā worship, composed under the patronage of Dhīrasimha, whose brothers Bhairavendra and Candrasimha are also named.

¹ Cf. Gaṇeśvara Miśra.

² They were widely sung in Tirhut in King Akbar's time in A.D. 1556 to 1605; cf. Ain-i-Akbari, V. l. II, translated by Jarrett, Calcutta, 1910 edition.

³ The following are to be found in the Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur districts :—

(1) Kīrti-patākā, (2) Puruṣa-parikṣā, (3) Likhānā-vali, (4) Bibhāga-sāgara, (5) Dāna-vākyāvali, (6) Gayā-patala, (7) Gaṅgā-vivekā, (8) Śaiva-sarvasvasāra, (9) Gaṅgā-vākyāvali, (10) Jyotiṣa-darpana, (11) Varṣa-kṛtyādi, (12) Padyāvali, and (13) Bibhāgasāra.

The following slokas from his Bibhāga-sāra and his Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅgīnī may be quoted with advantage :—

विद्यया नयस्तदीयतनयः प्रौढ प्रतापोदयः ।

संयमाङ्गणं लब्धं वैरि विजय कीर्त्याप्तलोकनयः ॥

मर्यादा मिलयः प्रकाश विनयः प्रज्ञा प्रकर्षात्रयः ।

त्रैलोक्यपति धीर सिंह विजयी राजत्यमोद्यमियः ॥

⁴ The Gaṅgā-vākyāvali collects together quotations on the subject from the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Chāṇḍoga-parīṣiṣṭa, the Maitrāyaṇīya-parīṣiṣṭa.

- (2) The Dāna-vākyāvali,¹ treating of the various kinds of religious gifts and of their ceremonies (a work on Smṛti).
- (3) The Varṣa-kṛtya,² dealing with the fasts and festivals during the year (a work on Smṛti).
- (4) The Vibhāga-sāra, the essence of partitions, on inheritance and partition (a work on Smṛti).
- (5) The Kīrti-latā, mixed Sanskrit and Maithilī poem in praise of Kīrti-siṃha (and Vīra Siṃha).
- (6) The Bhu-parikrama grantha, moral tales told to Baladeva during his travel to Janaka-deśa. It describes important places between Naimiṣāraṇya modern Nimkhar in the Sitapur district (U.P.) and Mithilā and is a sort of a Gazetteer.
- (7) The Puruṣa-parikṣā, moral tales by order of Siva-Siṃha.
- (8) The Kīrti-patākā, an amatory poem in Prākṛta and Maithilī.
- (9) The Padāvali, Maithilī songs about Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.
- (10) The Likhanāvali, on letter-writing.
- (11) The Śaiva-Śarvasva-sāra, on the essence of the Śaiva worship, attributed to Viśvāsadevī.
- (12) The Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, on the Pramāna and the Prayoga of Durgā worship.

That Vidyāpati was exceedingly learned can never be disputed. His *Raj taraṅgiṇī* contains a song by one

Yogi-Yājñavalkya, Purāṇas, Smṛti-kāras and others, among which may be mentioned the following :—

Kalpa-taru (3).	Darpaṇa (1).
Kalpa-taru-kāra (2).	Pārijāta (1).
Kalpa-druma-kāra (1).	Bhoja-rāja (2).
Kalottara (1).	Mitākṣara (1).
Gaṇeśvara-Mīra (2).	Rāja maritanda (1).
Gaṇgeya (6).	(Smṛti mahārṇava).
Chāndog-āhṇika (1).	prakāśa (1).
	Smṛti-samuccaya (2).

It mentions Sapta-grama as Dakṣiṇa-Prayāga and as Mukta-veni, and is herein followed by Vācāspati Mīra (Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi), Gaṇapati (Gangā-bhaktitaraṅgiṇī) and Raghunāṇḍana (Prāyascitta-tattva). It is quoted by Gaṇapati in the Gangā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, by Śrīnātha in the Kṛtya-tattv-āṇava, and by Raghunāṇḍana in several of his tattvas, while the author (kāra) is named by Govindānanda in the Varṣa-kṛtya and the Suddhi-kaumudī.

¹ It mentions the Kalpa-taru (1), the Dāna-sāgara (1), Bhupāla (1), Bhoja-rāja (1), the Ratnākara (3), Lakṣmidhara (1), and the Sāgara (8). It is quoted once by Raghunāṇḍana in the Vivāha tattva.

² The Varṣa kṛtya has been quoted in Raghunāṇḍana's Mālamāsa tattva.

Candra Kalā who was Vidyāpati's daughter-in-law as indicated by the colophon of the commentator Lochana

“इति श्री विद्यापति पुत्र वद्धाः”

It shows what an illustrious family it was.

In the very year of his accession to the *gaddi* Rājā Śiva Simha is said to have granted sanad of village Bispi to Vidyāpati Thakkura. This deed of gift is inscribed on a copperplate (preserved at Darbhanga). Dr. Grierson thought that this was not the original, i.e. that it was forged. The fact, however, remains that a Brāhmaṇa family called that of Vidyāpati held possession of this village for a long time until the year 1257 (Fasli) when they were dispossessed by a Settlement officer who considered the deed unreliable. This shows that Vidyāpati must have belonged to the locality where the family in possession was settled, i.e. Bispi.

It is traditionally believed that Vidyāpati met Pakṣadhara Miśra more than once. It is said that after having entertained a large number of Brāhmaṇas in his house, Vidyāpati saw an old man sitting in the corner. This drew from him the remark:—

प्राचूणो घृणवत्कोणे, सूक्ष्मत्वान्नोपलक्षितः ।

i.e. seated in a corner of the house like a small insect, the guest could not be seen on account of his shortness.

Pakṣadhara Miśra is said to have retorted by saying:—

नहि स्थूलं घृणः पुंसः, सूक्ष्मे दृष्टिः प्रजायते ।

i.e. obtuse-headed man cannot look into delicate or subtle matters.

Vidyāpati at once recognised the presence of Pakṣadhara Miśra and entertained him.

In Bengal, Vidyāpati has been immortalized by Vaiṣṇava Dāśa by his work Pada-kalpa-taru. Vidyāpati was known as having been a Bengalee and a contemporary of Caṇḍīdāsa and even now Caṇḍīdāsa and Vidyāpati, whose compositions are contained in the Kalpa-taru are admitted to have been the first poets in the Bengali literature and even now it is sometimes believed in Bengal that Vidyāpati was a Bengalee. But the fact remains that

while Vidyāpati used Brajbhāṣā, Caṇḍīdāsa's compositions are free from such admixtures. It is not denied that there is not appreciable difference between Vidyāpati's language and the old Bengalee. It is equally undeniable that Vidyāpati's song has been sung in Bengal for the last five centuries. All these go, however, to establish the influence of Vidyāpati over the old Bengali literature and the ineffable affinity between the Maithili and the original Bengal dialects. It is also known that Vaiṣṇavik poets freely imitated the language and style of Vidyāpati. But the fact remains that Vidyāpati's language is used up to this day by Maithili poets and writers though in a little modified form whereas Bengal broke with Vidyāpati's language and style long ago. It has also been ascertained that Vidyāpati's compositions have shown different masculine and feminine forms of verbs as applicable to masculine and feminine nouns or nominatives. This is found to this day in Maithili dialects. As the late Mr. Saroda Carāṇa Mitrā has shown, most of the Vaiṣṇavik poets of Bengal have built upon the foundation stone laid by Vidyāpati, i.e. they have freely used Vidyāpati's ideas and expressions. But the fact that so many of the epithets and expressions contained in Kalpa-taru can be explained only on reference to the Maithili literature, shows the direction from which its author drew his inspiration in spite of the fact that in Vidyāpati's time the Maithili alphabetic characters were identical with the Bengali alphabetic characters and even to this day there is a striking resemblance between the two.¹

Arguments adduced in favour of Vidyāpati's Maithili nationality by the late Babu Raj Kṛṣṇa Mukharjee in the "Bang Darśana" of Jyesta 1282, still hold good and may be summarised below: -

- (1) Vidyāpati has mentioned the Mithila Rājās Śiva Śimha, Rūpa Nārāyaṇa and Sivasimha's wife Lakṣmīdevī in so many of his songs.
- (2) Vidyāpati is found in the Maithili Pañjī.
- (3) There are more interesting stories to be heard

¹ I need hardly enter into a discussion to illustrate my point. I can only refer those interested in the subject to the momentous work on Vidyāpati by Mr. Nagendra Natha Gupta and Mr. Saroda Carāṇa Mitrā (Calcutta, 1316 F edition).

regarding Vidyāpati's life, death and work in Mithilā than in Bengal.

- (4) The deed of gift inscribed on copperplate in favour of Vidyāpati by Raja Śiva Śimha in respect of village Bispi in Mithilā (Darbhanga district) enabled a Brahmin family, said to have been descended from him to remain in possession of the village for centuries until ousted by the Settlement Authority who assessed it to Government Revenue.
- (5) The copy of Bhāgawata written by Vidyāpati himself is still to be found in village Tarauni in the Darbhanga district.

It may also be mentioned that several books written by Vidyāpati such as *Puruṣaparikṣā* and *Durgā Bhaktitaraṅgini*, etc., are not to be found in use beyond Mithilā. These books mention the contemporary ruling family much in the same way as it is described in the *Mithilā Pañjī*. Vidyāpati's songs prevalent in Mithilā bear striking resemblance to the songs prevalent in Bengal and attributed to Vidyāpati.

His influence on the life and literature of Bengal is evident from the fact that even Caitanya, the greatest Vaiṣṇavik reformer used to recite the songs of the Maithilā Vidyāpati in the streets of Nawadwipa where he was born. Most of the Vaiṣṇavik poets and followers of Śrī Caitanya have imitated the language and sentiments of Vidyāpati and Vidyāpati is even to this day known as the first poet of the Bengalee literature. The diction of the songs of Vidyāpati, which are known and sung in every part of Bengal, bears a striking resemblance to old Bengalee. His manuscripts do not differ from the written characters of the old Bengalee.

Though his songs appear to be love songs, it can be safely asserted that Vidyāpati's songs are full of philosophy and that there is nothing blasphemous or lewd or immoral in them. It must be admitted on all hands that they are all holy compositions which Caitanya himself used to sing. In fact it was the great reformer Caitanya who really immortalized Vidyāpati's songs.¹

¹ The following passage relating to Vidyāpati from Dr. Grierson may be quoted:—

The manuscript of the *Kāvya-prakāśa-viveka*, copied by the order of Vidyāpati, bears the date La. Sam. 291, i.e. 1410 A.D. The manuscript of *Bhāgawata Purāṇa* copied by Vidyāpati himself¹ bears the date La. Sam. 309, i.e. 1428.

Vidyāpati accordingly may be placed at the beginning of the 15th century.²

It is settled by one of Vidyāpati's compositions contained in his collection of songs written on palm leaves³ (in characters resembling old Bengalee) which were preserved along with the *Bhāgawata*, in village Tarauni in the Darbhanga district, that Rājā Deva Siṃha died in La. Sam. 293, Śākā year 1324, month of Caitra; Kṛṣṇa-Śaṣṭi, on a Thursday and that Śivasimha ascended the throne on that date. Thus there is no difficulty as regards the settlement of Vidyāpati's time,⁴ as he was undoubtedly a contemporary of Sivasimha. Vidyāpati's reference to the various ruling princes of Mithilā during his time also helps us to fix his date with some amount of certainty. He has mentioned Kīrti Siṃha⁵ who lived towards the close of the 14th century. He has also referred to Dhira

"I have grouped the songs into classes, according to the subjects of which they treat; one class for instance, treating of the first yearnings of the soul after God, another of the full possession of the soul by love for God, another for the estrangement of the soul, and so on. To understand the allegory, it may be taken as a general rule that Rādhā represents the soul, the messenger or duti, the evangelist or else the mediator, and Kṛṣṇa of course the deity" স্বাক্ষরিত "The glowing stanzas of Vidyāpati are read by the devout Hindu with as little of the baser part of human sensuousness as the Song of Solomon is by the Christian priest" অনুবাদ "They (Vidyāpati's poems) became great favourites of the more modern Vaiṣṇava reformer of Bengal—Caitanya, and through him, songs purporting to be by Vidyāpati have become as well known in Bengal households as the Bible is in an English one (page 54 of Vidyāpati's *Padāvalī* by Nāgendra Nātha Gupta printed at Calcutta, 1316 F. edition).

¹ The village Tarauni in the Darbhanga district holds a copy of his *Bhāgawata* written by Vidyāpati himself. In the colophon of this copy occurs, "विद्यापतेर्लिपिद्वयमिति ।"

² Cf. *Good Old Days of the Hon'ble John Company* by W. H. Carey, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1907 edition, p. 305, where it has been stated that Vidyāpati flourished about the year 1389 A.D.

³ This palm leaf book though not transcribed by Vidyāpati himself must have been written either in his lifetime or soon after him. This is evidenced by its old appearance. It is very valuable as it contains songs prevalent both in Bengal and Mithilā.

⁴ Cf. p. 4 of preface of Vidyāpati's *Padāvalī* by Narendra Natha Datta Calcutta, 1316 F. edition some of his songs such as :—

"सुकवि विद्यापति गाथ
जिव शिवसिंह राख ॥"

⁵ Cf. Kīrti Siṃha.

Simha¹ who surely lived about 1440 A.D. Thus Vidyāpati surely lived in the first half of the 15th century A.D.

VIṢṆUDATTA JHĀ.

He is said to have been the nephew of Paṇḍita Nara-pati Jhā of Tarauni in the Darbhanga district. Paṇḍita Parameśwara Jhā, Librarian to the Mahārāja Bahadur of Darbhanga, who comes of that family, quotes some slokas which show that Mahārāja Pratāpa Simha granted him Jagir of village Simara in the Sitāmarhi Subdivision in the Muzaffarpur district on Jyeṣṭha sudi Dasami, 1171, corresponding to 1765 A.D. It is also said that the original sanada of the grant is still in possession of Paṇḍita Sri Nārāyaṇa Jhā of Tarauni in the Darbhanga district.

Certain ślokas are quoted by his descendants in his village which show that he got some villages (such as Simarā, etc., in Sitāmarhi Subdivision in Muzaffarpur) from Mahārāja Pratāpa Simha of Darbhanga. I have not yet been able to get an authentic list of his literary efforts. A commentary on "Anargha Rāghava" is ascribed to him. He may be placed in the latter half of the 18th century.

¹ Cf. Dharma Simha.

APPENDIX B.

CLASSIFICATION OF ANCIENT AND MODERN LITERARY ACTIVITIES OF MITHILĀ.

CHAPTER I.

THE SAINTLY SCHOLARS OF MITHILĀ.

In the preceding pages, an account of the individual modern Sanskr̥ta writers of Mithilā has been given. But though these writers do not seem to go back to earlier than the 8th or the 9th century A.D. and though no manuscript appears to exist as dating earlier than the 11th century A.D., it must not for a moment be forgotten that the civilization of Mithilā goes back to hoary antiquity and the works of the modern Sanskr̥ta writers, which fall under certain recognised groups, are mainly based on their ancient prototypes. In the following pages, an attempt will be made to classify the works and to trace them to their ancient originals.

Mithila is said to be the home of Navya Nyāya which is an amalgamation of the two (out of six)¹ systems of Hindu Philosophy, viz. Nyāya (i.e. logic) and Vāiśeṣikā (i.e. knowledge of substance): It is said that Gautama, the author of Nyāya-sūtra, and Vātsyāyana Pākṣilaswāmin²

Sages and ancient Scholars of Mithilā.

¹ Cf. the collected works of Max Müller, the six systems of Indian Philosophy, 1916 edition, pp. 84 and 85, where the six systems are described as:—

(i) Sāṅkhya; (ii) Yoga; (iii) Vedānta; (iv) Mīmāṃsa; (v) Vaiśeṣika; and (vi) Nyāya.

² Vātsyāyana, the author of "Nyāya-sūtras" has been identified with Vātsyāyana, the author of Kāmasūtra, a book on amours.—Cf. Note on the supposed identity of Vātsyāyana and Kautilya, by Mr. R. Sarma Sastri in the Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol VI, pp. 210-216, also cf. Vātsyāyana, the author of the Nyāya Vāṣya, by Pandit Satishchandra Vidyabhūṣaṇ, Indian Ant., 1915, April, p. 82

Neither in the "Nyāya-sūtra" nor in the "Kāmasūtra" does he say where he composed his work. He mentions (in the Kāmasūtra) "Nāgar" and "Nāgarīkyaḥ"

(i) तथाविधा रश्मि प्रकाशने नागरिक्यः । Benares ed. p. 127.

(ii) न तु स्वयमौपरिष्टकाच्चरन्ति नागरकाः । Benares ed. p. 295.

and his commentator Jayamangala without any justification understands "Nāgar" to mean Pataliputra (modern Patna) But in fact the author of Kāmasūtra

(the author of Nyāyabhāṣya, the commentary on Nyāya-sūtra), the originators of this system, lived in Mithilā but this cannot be said as yet to have been conclusively established.

The Bālmiki Rāmāyaṇa tells us that Rāma came to the place of Gautama after crossing the rivers Sone and Ganges and visiting Raja Sumati of Baisāli and before reaching Janakapura, and that he liberated the soul of Gautama's wife, Ahilyā who had been turned into a stone near Gautama's place. The traditional situation of this place is the Tirtha (i.e. holy place) of Aliyari (i.e. Ahilyāsthāna, i.e. Ahilya's place) near Kamtaula in Darbhanga District. It may therefore be taken especially on Bālmiki's authority that Gautama lived in Mithilā and was a Maithila.¹

But we do not know whether Gautama, the author of the 'Nyāya-sūtra' was identical with the Gautama of Bālmiki Rāmāyaṇa. There was a Gautama who wrote the Gautama Dharmaśāstra which can hardly date from later than the 5th century B.C.²

Also it is well known that "Gautamas" are mentioned in the "Brāhmaṇa" (Cir. 500 B.C.,) as spiritual teachers.³

Also the Sakyas of Kapilavastu (Cir. 500 B.C.) among whom Buddha⁴ was born, were called "Gautamas."

Though the early date (500 B.C.) for Gautama, the author of the Nyāya-sūtra, is not recognised by all who have made a special study of the subject, it is admitted that Dingnāga who has interpreted the Nyāya system in a Buddhist sense has been mentioned by the famous Sams-

makes only meagre mention of places in Eastern India and shows his familiarity only with Western India in detail. His "Nāgara" must therefore be in Western India and an ancient city called "Nāgara" has been identified with ruins scattered over an area of nearly 45 sq. miles in extent in the Jayapore Estate, 25 miles to the south-south-east of Tonk and 45 miles to the north-north-east of Bundi.

Cf. the Report on Archaeological Survey of India, by Cunningham, Vol. VI, pp. 161-2.

¹ आसीद्ब्रह्मपुरी नाम्ना मिथिलायां विराजिता । तस्यां विराजते नित्यं गौतमो नाम सापसः । अहल्यानामत्पत्नी पतिव्रता प्रियम्भदा । सर्वं लक्षणं सम्पूर्णा ऽसीत् सा सर्वाङ्ग सुन्दरी ।

² Cf. Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature, 1917, page 260.

³ Cf. page 202 of Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature, 1917 edition.

⁴ Cf. page 215 of do. do.

⁵ Cf. do. do. do.

kr̥ta poet Kāli Dāsa in his famous work "Meghadūta." Now Kāli Dāsa is said to have lived not later than the 6th century A.D. and it may be safely assumed that Dingnāga was a contemporary of Kāli Dāsa if he did not live before Kāli Dāsa's time, and in any case it is certain that the "Nyāya-sūtra" and its author Gautama existed some considerable time before Kāli Dāsa wrote his "Meghadūta" in the 6th century A.D.¹

All this shows that though it is not certain when Gautama, the author of the Nyāya-sūtra lived and whether he was a native of Mithilā, it is most probable that he existed about 500 B.C.² and that he worked for a major portion of his life in Mithilā which has always been the home of "Nyāya" philosophy.

It is generally recognised that Nyāya and Vaiśeṣikā are dry and unimaginative, and consist of business-like expositions of what can be known, either of the world which surrounds us or of the world within us, that is, of our faculties or powers of perceiving, conceiving, or reasoning on one side, and the objects which they present to us, on the other. It should be remembered that, like the Sāṃkhya and Yoga and to a certain extent like the Pūrva and Uttara Mimāṃsā, the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika also have been treated as forming but one discipline. We possess indeed a separate body of Nyāya-sūtras and another of Vaiśeṣika-sūtras, and these with their reputed authors, Gautama and Kanāda, have long been accepted as the original sources whence these two streams of the ancient philosophy of India proceeded.

It should always be borne in mind that the Sūtras ascribed to Gautama and Kanāda presuppose a long previous development of philosophical thought and instead of regarding the two as independent streams, it seems far

¹ Cf. the collected works of Max Müller, the six systems of Indian Philosophy, 1916 edition, page 364.

Also cf. Prof. Satish Chandra Vidyabhusan in Journal of Buddhist Text Society IV, Parts III and IV, page 16.

Also cf. pp. 211 to 214 of "Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, Vol. XV;" Yan Chwang Vol II, Thomas Waters, R.A.S. 1905.

Also Weber's Ind. lit. p. 209, Note 245

² Cf. The arguments advanced by Mahādeo Rājārāma Bodas, the Tarkasamgraha of Annambhatta, with the author's Dipikā and Govardhana's Nyayabodhini, prepared by the late Rao Bahadur Yasavanta Vasadeo Athalya and published with critical and explanatory notes, Bombay, 1897.

more likely that there existed at first an as yet undifferentiated body of half philosophical, half popular thought, bearing on things that can be known, the Padārthas, i.e. *omne scibile*, and on the means of acquiring such knowledge, from which at a later time, according to the preponderance of either the one or the other subject, the two systems of Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya branched off. These two systems shared of course many things in common, and hence we can well understand that at a later time they should have been drawn together again and treated as one.¹

It may be noted here that the Vaiśeṣikā system of Kanāda is generally placed between the 1st century A.D. and the 6th century A.D.

This is however certain that Navya Nyāya or the amalgamation of the two systems of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣikā became prominent from the 12th or the 13th century A.D., the date of Udayanācāryya.

NOTES ON NYĀYA AND VAIŚEṢIKĀ SYSTEMS.

It may look out of place here to give a detailed account of the Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣikā systems in a work like this, but the importance of the system for Mithilā and the possible interest of some readers may excuse an attempt.

The "Vaiśeṣika" and the "Nyāya," form a closely connected pair, since a strict classification of ideas, as well as the explanation of the origin of the world from atoms, is common to both. The Vaiśeṣika is described in the Brāhmaṇa sūtras as undeserving of attention, because it had no adherents. This was certainly not the case in later times, when this system became very popular. It received its name from the category of "particularity" (*viśeṣ*) on which great stress is laid in its theory of atoms. The memory of its founder is only preserved in his nickname Kanāda (also Kanabhuḥ or Kana-bhākṣa), which means "atom-eater."

The main importance of the system lies in the logical

¹ Cf. the collected works of F. Max Muller. The six systems of Indian Philosophy, pages 362-363
do. do. page 439.

categories which it set up and under which it classed all phenomena. The six which it originally set up are substance, quality, motion, generality, particularity, and inherence. They are rigorously defined and further subdivided. The most interesting is that of inherence or inseparable connection (*samavāya*), which, being clearly distinguished from that of accident or separable connection (*samyoga*), is described as the relation between a thing and its properties, the whole and its parts, genus and species, motion and the object in motion. Later was added a seventh, that of non-existence (*abhāva*), which, by affording special facilities for the display of subtlety has had a momentous influence on Indian logic. This category was further subdivided into prior and posterior non-existence (which we should respectively call future and past non-existence), mutual non-existence (as between a jar and cloth), absolute non-existence (as fire in water).

Though largely concerned with these categories, the Vaiśeṣika¹ system aimed at attaining a comprehensive philosophic view in connection with them. Thus while dealing with the category of "substance" it develops its theory of the origin of the world from atoms. The consideration of the category of "quality" similarly leads to its treatment of psychology, which is remarkable and has analogies with that of the Sāṅkhya. Soul is here regarded as without beginning or end, and all-pervading, subject to the limitations of neither time nor space. Intimately connected with soul is "mind" (*mānas*), the internal organ of thought, which alone enables the soul to know not only external objects but its own qualities. As this organ is, in contrast with the soul, an atom, it can only comprehend a single object at any given moment. This explains why the soul cannot be conscious of all objects simultaneously.

¹ It does not contain much that is peculiar to it, even the theory of *Ātmas* or atoms, generally cited as its peculiar character, is evidently known to the Nyāya, though it is more fully developed by the Vaiśeṣikas. It begins with the usual promise of teaching something from which springs elevation or the *summum bonum*, and that something Kanāda calls Dhārma or merit. From a particular kind of merit springs, according to Kanāda, true knowledge of certain Padarthas, or categories, and from this once more the *summum bonum*. These categories or predicaments were believed to contain an enumeration of all things capable of being named, i.e. of being known. Cf. pp 440-41 of Max Müller's "Collected Works, of the six systems of Indian Philosophy."

The Nyāya¹ system in its present form is only a development and complement of that of Kanāda, its metaphysics, and psychology being the same. Its specific character consists in its being a very detailed and acute exposition of formal logic. As such it has remained the foundation of philosophical studies in India down to the present day. Besides dealing fully with the means of knowledge, which it states to be perception, inference, analogy, and trustworthy evidence, it treats exhaustively of syllogisms and fallacies. It is interesting to note that the Indian mind here independently arrived at an exposition of the syllogism as the form of deductive reasoning. The text book of this system is the Nyāya-sūtra of Gautama. The importance here attached to logic appears from the very first aphorism, which enumerates sixteen logic notions with the remark that salvation depends on a correct knowledge of their nature.

Neither the Vaiśeṣika nor the Nyāya-sūtras originally accepted the existence of God; and though both schools later became theistic, they never went so far as to assume

¹ Though Nyāya has always been translated by logic, we must not imagine that the Nyāya-sūtras are anything like our modern treatises on formal logic. There is, no doubt, a greater amount of space allowed to logical questions in these than in any of the other systems of Indian Philosophy, but originally the name of Nyāya would have been quite as applicable to the Pūrva-Mīmamsā, which is actually called Nyāya in such works, for instance, as Sayana's Nyāyamālā-vistāra, published by Goldstucker. Nor is logic the sole or chief end of Gautama's philosophy. Its chief end, like that of the other Darsanas, is salvation, the *summum bonum* which is promised to all. This *summum bonum* is called by Gautama Nihśreyasa, literally that which has nothing better, the *nonplus ultra* of blessedness. This blessedness, according to the ancient commentator Vatsyāyana, is described as consisting in renunciation with regard to all the pleasures of this life, and in the non-acceptance of, or indifference to any rewards in the life to come; as being in fact what Brahman is, without fear, without desire, without decay, and without death. Even this Brahmanhood must not be an object of desire, for such desire would at once produce a kind of bondage, and prevent that perfect freedom from all fear or hope, which is to follow by itself, but should not be yearned for. This perfect state of freedom, or resignation, can, according to Gautama, be realised in one way only, namely, by knowledge, and in this case, by a knowledge of the sixteen great topics of the Nyāya-philosophy.

The Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems, though they also aim at salvation, are satisfied with pointing out the means of it as consisting in correct knowledge, such as can only be obtained from a clear apprehension of the sixteen topics treated by Gautama, or the six or seven categories put forward by Kanāda. These two philosophies, agreeing as they do among themselves, seem to differ very characteristically from all the others in so far as they admit of nothing invisible or transcendent (Avyakta), whether corresponding to Brāhman or to Prakṛti. They are satisfied with teaching that the soul is different from the body, and they think that, if this belief in the body as our own is once surrendered, our sufferings, which always reach us through the body, will cease by themselves. (Cf. collected works of Max Müller, the six systems of Indian Philosophy, page 363, 1915 edition.)

a creator of matter. Their theology is first found developed in Udayanācāryya's *Kusumāñjali* which was written about 1200 A.D., and in works which deal with the two systems conjointly. Here God is regarded as a "special" soul, which differs from all other individual, eternal souls in its exemption from all qualities connected with transmigration, and the possession of the power and knowledge qualifying it to be a regulator of the universe.¹

The Mithilā writers on Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika beginning with Udayanācāryya date from the 12th century A.D. and have been dealt with separately.²

But Mithilā has been famous not only for Nyāya but also for Smṛti. Smṛti literally means memory and is the system that embodies traditions derived from ancient sages regarding religious and civil usage³ and its author Yajñavalkya (who flourished at the court of king Janaka much earlier than the 6th century B.C.)⁴

The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa in which so much has been said about Yajñavalkya, is admitted by Macdonell and other European scholars to be as old as, if not older, than the 5th century B.C.⁵

The existing version of the Yajñavalkya Smṛti is however assigned to the period between the 1st and 3rd century A.D.⁶

¹ Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature, pages 403-05.

² Cf. Appendix A

³ The Hindus have divided the whole of their ancient literature into two parts, which really mean two periods, Śrutam, what was heard, and was not the work of men or any personal being, human or divine, and Smṛtam, what was remembered, and has always been treated as the work of an individual whether man or god. Śrutam or Śruti came afterwards to mean what has been revealed, exactly as we understand that word, while Smṛtam or Smṛti comprised all that was recognised as possessing human authority only, so that if there ever was a conflict between the two, Smṛti or tradition might at once be overruled by what was called Śruti or revelation.

Smṛti is allied with the Mimāṃsā system of Hindu philosophy.

Brahma-Mīmāṃsā (or Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā of Bādarāyaṇa) or the Vedānta recognises salvation as due to knowledge of the Brahman, which knowledge produces at once the recognition of oneself as in reality Brahman (Brahmavid Brahman eva Bhavati), "He who knows Brahman is Brahman indeed".

The other Mimāṃsā, that of Jaimini (Uttara-Mīmāṃsā) diverges widely from that of Bādarāyaṇa. It lays its chief stress on works (Karma) and their right performance, and holds that salvation may be obtained through the performance of such works, if only they are performed without any desire of rewards, whether on earth or in heaven.

Thus it is clear that the Mimāṃsā of Jaimini is Smṛtic.

⁴ Cf. Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature, 1917, page 35.

⁵ Cf. Part I,

⁶ Cf. Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature, 1905, pages 202-216.

⁷ do. do. do. page 429.

In this view it will be admitted on all hands that the existing version of the Yajñavalkya Smṛti is an adaptation of its original which must be assigned to the 5th century B.C.¹

There were two periods in Mithilā when writers on Smṛti especially flourished, the first, at the beginning of the 14th century A.D., i.e. about 1325 A.D. when Hari-simha of Simrāon led his invasion to Nepal; and the second, with the advent of the Śrottriya dñasty founded by Kāmeśa in the same century. The first period is represented by Candeśvara's great compilation called the Ratnākara; and the second by a host of writers—Vācaspati, Vardhamāna, Misarū Misra and others. Candeśvara is represented in this collection by five works, viz. Dānavākya-āvali, Gr̥hastharatnākara, Kālanirnaya, Trikāṇḍikā-sūtravyākhyā, and Kṛtyaratnākara, dated 322 La. Sam. To the second period belong Śrāddhacintāmani by Vācaspati Miśra, Vardhamāna's Paribhāṣā and fragments of Sugatisopāna by Ganeśvara and Svarga-sopāna by Kṛṣṇa.²

The works of the individual Nyāya, Vaiśeṣikā and Smṛti writers have been dealt with separately.³

The Maithila writers have also distinguished themselves by their work on:—

- (i) Administration or politics;
- (ii) Music;
- (iii) Duta Kāvya, etc., etc.

Just about the time of the Muhammadan conquest of Mithilā at the beginning of the 14th century A.D., Candeśvara, the minister of Bhavēśa, one of the early Karnatic kings, wrote a work (Nīti-ratnākara) on politics covering the whole ground of administration military, civil, judicial and so on.⁴

There is a commentary on music in the Nepal Library

¹ Cf. pages 48 and 49 of Jolley's "Outlines of a history of the Hindu law," Calcutta, 1885.

² Page 4 of the Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts 1901-02 to 1905-06.

³ Cf. appendix A.

⁴ Cf. page 3 of the Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts (1895-1900) by H. P. Sastri.

named "Saṅgitabhāṣkara" which is said to have been composed by Jagajyotimalla with the help of a Maithilā Paṇḍita Vaiṅgamaṇi in the 17th century A.D.¹

Maithilā commentaries
on music.

Gitadigambara is a drama written in the 17th century in imitation of the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva, by Vaiṅsamaṇi, a Maithilā Brāhmaṇa, who lived in Nepal.²

Imitation of Gitagovinda
in Mithilā.

The works written in imitation of Kālidāsa's Megha-dūta are known as Dūta Kāvyaś.

Dūta-Kāvyaś in Mithilā

The Bengalees have excelled in this form of poetry and have led the Maithilās to imitate their example. Gaṅgānanda Kavindra, a Maithilā Brāhmaṇa of the 17th century and author of "Bhṛṅga Dūta" sends the black bee as a messenger to the heroine³ from a lover darker than the new cloud, weak and emaciated by anxiety for the object of his love.

CHAPTER II.

MITHILĀ THE HOME OF NYĀYA AND SMṚTI.

Mithilā, the land of Nyāya and Smṛti, passed on the torch of learning in these branches to Bengal. The traditional story still prevails how Pakṣadhara Miśra in the 14th century and probably his predecessors in Mithilā used to teach students from Bengāl and that though the then Maithilā Paṇḍitas would not allow the outsiders to take any notes of the learning imparted by them, yet the Bengālee learners used to commit to memory all that was taught and thus carried the valuable teachings to different parts of Bengāl, specially to Nadiā. The story of how Bāśudeva by the power of his memory brought the Nyāya philosophy from Mithilā to Nawadvipa (Nadiā) is well known. Bāśudeva's learning was not confined to Nyāya or logic; he taught his pupils Smṛti and tantras and his

¹ Cf. page 11 of the Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts (1895-1900) by H. P. Sastri.

² Cf. page 18 of the Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts (1895-1900) by H. P. Sastri.

³ Cf. page 19 . do. do. do. do.

pupil Raghunātha is said to have held his own in argument against Mithilā's great Panditas. All these go to bear testimony to the influence which Mithilā once exercised on Bengal.

APPENDIX C.

BRĀHMAṆA MARRIAGE IN MITHILĀ.

Of the approved forms of Hindu marriages,¹ the "Ārṣa" form of marriage is prevalent in Mithilā and is celebrated in accordance with the Vedic and Sastric *mantras* (hymns) accompanied by numerous ceremonies, the most important of which have been briefly described in the following paragraphs:—

Early History of Marriage in Mithilā.—In ancient times when the Maithila Brāhmaṇas² could not go from village to village in search of bride or bridegroom for their sons or daughters for fear of being interrupted in their daily performance of the *agni-hotra* ceremonies (i.e. the ceremony consisting in the offerings of oblations to consecrated fire), they founded a Dharma Kṣetra in the village of Saurātha in the district of Darbhanga. They also established a "Council of Marriage" and wrote a

¹ *General definition of Marriage.*—According to the Hindu Sastras marriage is the acceptance by the bridegroom of the bride, constituting her his wife. It is more a religious than a secular institution and is the last of the ten sacraments or purifying ceremonies.

Ideal of Marriage.—The Hindu ideal of marriage is that it is a holy union for the performance of religious duties. It is therefore strictly enjoined by the Hindu Sastras that the idea of sexual pleasure must not be associated with the holy nuptial rite and where, however, such pleasure is the predominant idea in the mind of a party to it, it must be condemned as a purely selfish and secular marriage and as being unworthy of a person having a sense of spiritual responsibility.

Accordingly the sages enjoined the marriage of girls before the signs of puberty make their appearance. There were also other reasons which actuated the sages to enjoin such a rule on the Hindu community. They were (i) to admit the girl into the family of the bridegroom at an age when her mind and character are yet unformed so that she may become assimilated and engrafted, as it were, to it in the same way as a member born in it; and (ii) to secure the chastity of females which is the foundation of the happiness of a Hindu home.

Forms of Marriage.—The Hindu sages divided marriages into eight kinds, viz. Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Prajāpatya, Gandharva, Asura, Rakṣasa and Paisāca. Of these, the first four are the approved kinds of marriage, as the male issue of these confers special spiritual benefit on the ancestors, and the last four belong to the condemned and censured class.

For an account of Hindu system of marriages, see pages 35 to 39 of Elphinstone's History of India, London, 1874 edition.

² These notes apply to almost all the four sections of the Maithila Brahmanas, viz. Śrōtriya, Yojā, Pañji Baddha, and Sādharana (Jaibāra).

For a detailed account of these marriages, see an article communicated by Maharaja Sir Rāmeswara Sīdha to Darbhanga, pages 515-542 of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. III, part iv, December, 1917.

"Pañji Śāstra" dealing with prohibited degrees for marriage. When there was a talk about a marriage, the parties to it first went to the "Pañji Kāra" to consult him about prohibited degrees and if the latter gave his consent to the proposed marriage and issued a written order for the same, the marriage was solemnized. But if on a reference to the "Pañji Śāstra" he found any relationship existing within the 7th degree between the boy and the damsel, he would select some one else with whom the marriage might be legally celebrated. This practice still continues in Mithilā and no marriage takes place without consulting the "Pañji Kāras."

It should also be remarked here that a person called "Ghataka" also sits on the "Council of Marriage" and settles the terms of marriage between the parties.

* *Ceremonies*.—I need not enter, in detail, into the numerous ceremonies that are generally observed in marriages in Mithilā. But I would mention those ceremonies only that are essential for the completion of a marriage.

On receipt of the Pañji Kāra's written order for the marriage, the bride's father takes the bridegroom's right hand in his own and thus a moral contract of betrothal is then deemed to be established. Then on the date fixed for marriage, the bridegroom goes to the bride's house with his friends and relatives and the marriage is performed there with great pomp.

The following ceremonies are generally observed at the time of a marriage in Mithilā :—

Ceremony of Chumāon or Kissing.—When on the day of marriage, the bridegroom is about to start from his house for that of the bride, his female relatives perform the ceremony of *chumāon* (or kissing) attended with other local ceremonies which are not to be found in any book on marriage. It must be noted here that on the day of marriage both the bride and the bridegroom observe a fast.

Aiñā kā pān.—When the bridegroom reaches the house of the bride, the female inmates of the latter's house send through a special messenger some betel leaves (*pān*) and nuts (*supāri*) kept in a small flat dish (*chipi*) to the bridegroom who takes out one of the betel leaves putting in its stead some silver and copper coins.

The next important ceremony is that of "Mātṛika Pūjā" which is performed by the bride's father to invoke the blessings of the sixteen "Mātṛikās" (mothers).

After performing a few other minor ceremonies the bridegroom is made to take his stand in the *mandapa* facing eastward. The *Yajamāna* (the bride's father—literally, the grantor) then addresses him in loving tones, gives him a *biththar* (or seat) to sit on and asks him to sit in the *mandapa* facing northward. When he is comfortably seated there, the bride is brought there from her house and is decked with new clothes and ornaments presented by the bridegroom. The latter also puts on new clothes. The *Yajamāna* then takes hold of one end of the *Cādara* worn by them and ties these together. This ceremony is called *gānthbandhana*.

Another important ceremony is that of *kanyādāna* or the gift of the bride to the bridegroom. When the ceremony of *gānthbandhana* is over the *Yajamāna* places the left hand of the bride over the right hand of the bridegroom and says, "I give such and such a girl adorned with ornaments on such and such a day, month, *pakṣa*, to such and such a man of such and such *gotra* and *parivāra* (family) for the attainment of a particular region of heaven." Then he gives two cows or two gold moharaṣ to the bridegroom as *Dakṣiṇā* (fee). On the 4th day the ceremony of *chathurthi* is performed and the marriage is then consummated. This over the bridegroom leaves the bride's house with the bride on the same day the marriage is consummated or on the 5th, 7th or 9th day from the day of the marriage. Otherwise the bride comes to the bridegroom's house at the end of one, three or five years.

Polygamy.—The Hindu law permits a man to have more wives than one at the same time, and this practice is perhaps nowhere more popular than in Mithilā. There it was the practice to have twenty, thirty and even forty wives at the same time, but now monogamy is the general rule, though there are still instances which show that the old custom of having a number of wives has not altogether disappeared from the country.

APPENDIX D.

MAITHILĪ DIALECT.

It is difficult to say how old is the Maithilī dialect,¹ but it is certain that both the dialect and its written characters existed in distinct forms in the early first half of the 14th century A.D. when Jyotirīśvara Kavi Śekhārācāryya² wrote his *Varnaṇaratnākara* and *Dhūrta Samāgama*. Vidyāpati who lived in the first half of the 15th century A.D. has made this dialect immortal by his compositions, especially the songs, *Kīrtilatā*, *Kīrtipatākā*, and the dramas *Gauri Swayambara*, *Rukmiṇī Swayambara* attributed to him. Thus it is certain that this dialect is at least 600 years old. But it must be remembered that the written characters of Maithilī in which Jyotirīśvara and Vidyāpati wrote (though they differ considerably from the Devanāgarī characters and even from the present-day written characters of Maithilī a little) bear a striking resemblance to the ancient written characters of Bengal. In fact, the latter are generally known as "Tirutā" (Tirhut?) in Bengal, and there can be little doubt that the ancient Bengalee characters which show considerable difference from the modern Bengalee characters, were borrowed from Mithilā or had a common origin with the Maithilī characters. It is also admitted that the ancient Maithilī dialect as used by Vidyāpati and Jyotirīśvara, have much in common with the ancient Bengalee—though differences³ are evident in spelling, formation of verbs and pronunciations. Though the ancient Maithilī writers have used some expressions which are distinctly Maithilī (i.e. not found in Bengalee) and though Vidyāpati is said to have resorted not infrequently to "Vraja Bolī" (i.e. the dialect used in Vraja or the locality including Muttrā and

¹ That is the dialect spoken in North Bihar in the districts of Muzaffarpur, Champaran, Darbhanga, North Monghyr and North Bhagalpur and Purneah.

² Cf. Jyotirīśvara Kavisekharācāryya.

³ Cf. *Sāhitya Viśayaka Prastāva*, Prathama Bhāga by Paṇḍita Rāmagati Nyāyaratna.

⁴ Cf. the introduction to *Vidyāpati* by Kālī Prasanna Kāvyaśārada, 1910, Calcutta edition.

Brindābana sacred to the memory of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā), yet it cannot be denied that resemblance between ancient Maithilī and ancient Bengalee is considerable. This must be obvious to those who have compared the compositions of Vidyāpati (Maithilī) and Candīdāsa (Bengalee) who are believed to have been contemporaries. It may thus be reasonably assumed that both ancient Bengalee and ancient Maithilī sprang from a common stock. But though this common stock has been regarded to be Samskr̥ta and its off-shoot Pṛākṛta, a theory which applies as much to Bengalee and Maithilī as to any other set of Indian dialects, showing some resemblance to and admixture of Samskr̥ta words, it must be admitted that it is not easy to hit exactly upon the common origin. It has been suggested that a near approach is made to this common fountain-head when we know that (1) the Sena kings of Gauḍa (modern Nava-dwīpa or Nuddeah in Bengal) divided their kingdom into five parts¹ including Mithilā; (2) that king Lakṣmaṇa Sena inaugurated an era of his own (called Lakṣmaṇa Sena Samvata or era) about the year 1119 A.D., which though dropped in Bengal, is used to this day in Mithilā; and (3) that there was a local or provincial dialect called "Gauḍī" (as mentioned in the Kāvyaḍarśa) which must have flourished during the Sena period and which has left its impress on the literature of the time. It may be regarded as most probable that "Maithilī" had some connection with this Gauḍī, especially as so many of the learned men of Mithilā flourished under the Sena kings. But whether Gauḍī itself was indebted to Maithilī for its written characters as well as its vocabulary (as claimed by many Maithilas) is doubtful, though the use of the Maithilī characters by the Bengalee writers of the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, adoptions of Maithilī words, expressions, and style of compositions (especially those of Vidyāpati) by the Vaiṣṇavic poets of Bengal in those centuries, point to the fact that the Maithilī dialect is much older than, and must have helped the growth of "Bengalee." This view is further confirmed by the tradition which is generally admitted that students from Bengal used to flock to Mithilā to learn from Pakṣadhara² Miśra who lived

¹ They were Rarha, Barendra, Bangā, Bagari, and Mithilā.

² Cf. Jayadeva or Pakṣadhara.

in the first half of the 15th century A.D. and is believed to have been a contemporary of Vidyāpati Thakkura.¹

Whatever may be its exact origin, it is now generally believed that the Maithilī is one of the old dialects which saw the light on the disruption of the Prākṛta (consequent, as many believe, on the dismemberment of Harṣa's empire about the middle of the 7th century A.D. and as a result of foreign incursions which followed this dismemberment) which in itself was a corruption of the Samskr̥ta and that it is more than 600 years old.

It is not easy to trace the gradual stages of development through which the Maithilī has passed. We know however, that Rājās Maheśa Thakkura and Mahinātha Thakkura who belonged to the 16th or early 17th century A.D., are accredited popularly with the authorship of some religious songs heard in Mithilā. Locana, author of Rāja Tarangini and Naiṣada Kābya, is said to have been patronised by Mahinātha Thakkura. One of the prominent Maithilī writers in the 17th century A.D. is Rāmadāśa who wrote the Ananda Vijaya Nāṭaka—a drama in mixed Maithilī and Prākṛta. And to the early 18th century A.D. belongs Harinātha Upādhyāya, author of the "Pārijāta Harāṇa Nāṭaka" in mixed Maithilī and Prākṛta.

The 18th and the 19th centuries saw a crop of writers (in the Maithilī dialect) including Nandipati, author of the dramas Kṛṣṇa Kelimālā and Kādamkelimālā, Rāmapati, Keśava, Cakrapāṇi, Caturbbuja, Jayānanda, Sārasapati, Modanāvāyana, Govinda Dāsa, Gaṇanātha (translator of Ādiparva Mahābhārata), Hari Kīmkara, Lakṣmīnātha, Rāmadāsa, Lālakavi (author of Gauḍiparīṇaya Nāṭaka and several other compositions), Raghunandan Dāsa (author of Uttara Rāmacarita and Mithilā Nāṭaka), Lāladāsa (author of Durgāsaptasati), Bhanjan, Kayi, Bhānukavi (author of Pārvati Harāṇa Nāṭaka), Bhavanāth Miśra (author of Maithilī Koṣa, a lexicon) and a host of others.

Manbodha Miśra wrote his Harivamśa, Kṛṣṇa Janma, and Songs and Gaṅgādāśa translated a part of the Mahābhārata. Harṣanātha Jhā who wrote Uṣā Harāṇa Nāṭaka and some other works, and Paṇḍita Candā who wrote his Maithilī Rāmāyaṇa and several other works, received

¹ Cf. Vidyāpati Thakkura.

patronage from the late Mahārājā, Lakṣmīśwara Simha of Darbhanga in the second half of the 19th century A.D. The Maithilī grammatical treatises by Dr. Grierson, Hali Jhā and Dinbandhu Jhā are useful works. To Dr. Grierson belongs the credit of having done so much for the Maithilī by his grammatical and philological investigations. *Mithilā Sabda Prakāśa* is a very useful work on Maithilā Vocabulary. Among rhetorical works in the Maithilā dialect, may be mentioned *Candravarṇa*, *Alamkāravinyāsa*, and *Candōmālā*, etc. In fact, there have been too many writers in the Maithilī dialect especially of songs, in the 19th century—though most of them of not much value. Among these may be mentioned the songs of Lakṣmīnātha and Lakṣmīpati heard in Darbhanga and North Bhagalpore districts.

Even to-day a good many writers (such as Paṇḍitas Parmeśwara Jhā and Ceta Nātha Jhā) are busy with their Maithilī compositions.

This dialect has a bright future before it and it is to be hoped that authors will be forthcoming who will write works of really valuable and useful character from literary as well as from practical stand-point.

APPENDIX E.

BETTIAH.

The Bettiah Estate was carved out towards the end of the 16th century by one Ugra Sena Simha whose son Gaja Simha received the title of Rājā from emperor Shah Jahan (1628-58). Muhammadan historians have called the Rajas of Bettiah independent rulers.¹ In Riyazu-s-salatin, the Rājā is described as a turbulent chief whose territory had never been entered by the army of the Nazims and who had never acknowledged the dominion of any of the Subadars. Ali Vardi Khan led an expedition against the Rājā of Bettiah in 1729 and brought him under subjection.² In 1748, the Rājā of Bettiah entered into alliance with the Afghan Chiefs of Darbhanga. But

¹ Babar mentions Ziparan (Champaran) a separate revenue unit or sircar (Tuzaqi Babari, Elliot's Vol. IV, page 262). The Ain-i-Akbari also mentions Champaran as a separate sirkar (Jarret's Translation, Vol. II—"The Ten Years' Settlement").

At an earlier date, the Persian Wakiat-i-Mushfaki by Shaikh Razkula Mustaki gives an account of Champaran. Mian Husain Farmuli, Jagirdar of Saran and Champaran and his general Mughala Khani, attacked and looted the Rājā of Champaran about the year 1490 (Elliot's History of India, Vol. IV, pages 546-47.)

At the engagement at Hajipur in Akbar's time, about 1580, Rājā Kachiti or Gajpati is mentioned as an ally of the emperor (Tabakat-i-Akbari, Elliot's Vol. V, page 377—also pages 167-68 of Lowe's Translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. II, 1884 edition).

Then again, it is related that Gajpati, a zaminder of the neighbourhood of Hajipur revolted about 1582 and had to be suppressed by Shahhaj Khan under Akbar's orders (pages 244-45 and 293 of Lowe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. II, 1884 edition).

Who could this Gajpati or Kachiti be? Was he the Rājā of Champaran and founder of the Bettiah family?

There is little doubt that Gajpati was a zamindar of Champaran.

Again Rājā Udi Karana, the zamindar of Champaran is said to have held the Imperial forces near Hajipur after the year 1590 (pages 36 and 40 of Akbar-Nama of Abul Fazal, Elliot Vol. VI, 1875 edition).

It will thus appear that sircar of Champaran was in ancient times under one ruler. But the question now arises who these Rājās of Champaran were and who are represented in blood by the Rājās of Bettiah.

This we know that Champaran or even Mithilā was once ruled by the Rājās of Simraon. An account of this Simraon family has been given in the main body.

But was Ugra Sena Simha or his son Gaja Simha descended from Simraon family? If not he actually replaced Simraon family and must have kept his capital there for sometime. We know that Rājā Mahinātha Thakkura of Darbhanga, who flourished about the year 1668, is traditionally said to have fought with Rājā Gaja Simha of Simraon.

* Ali Vardi Khan had been to Bettiah to quell the rebellious Rājā in the year 1730 (Shair-ul-Mutakharim and Riyazu's Salatin, p. 296 translated by M. Abdul Salam, 1904 edition).

when the Afghans were defeated by Ali Vardi Khan, he offered a Nazar of three lacs to the Subadar in order to pacify him.¹ In 1759 Caillaud advanced against the fort of Bettiah, and compelled the Rājā to submit.² In 1762 another expedition was sent against him by Mir Kasim Ali Khan³ and his fort was again captured; and in 1766 a third expedition under Sir Robert Barker was necessary to establish British authority. In 1763 Rājā Jugala Keśwara Simha, who was son of the daughter of Rājā Dhurupa Simha, succeeded him.

This Rājā soon came into conflict with the East India Company. He fell into arrears of revenue, and in the words of the Judges of the *Diwany Adalat* "rebelled and fought with the forces of the British Government, was defeated and fled to Bundelkhand for safety, and his *Rajgi* was seized upon and brought under the direct management of the Company." The attempt to manage the estate proved, however, a complete failure; and the Company, finding that its revenue grew less and less, persuaded Jugala Keśwara Simha to return. Then they settled with him *paraganas* Majhawā and Simrāon, the remainder of the district being given to his cousins, Śrī Kisuna Simha and Abdhut Simha. They were grandsons of Gaja Simha and became founders of the Sheohar (in the Muzaffarpur district) and of the Madhuban (in the Champaran district) families.

The same two *paraganas* of Majhawā and Simrāon were settled with Bīra Keśwara Simha, the son of Jugala Keśwara Simha, at the Decennial Settlement in 1791, and still constitute the greater part of the Bettiah Rāja estate. Bīra Keśwara Simha played a prominent part in the dispute which led to the Nepalese war, and was succeeded in 1816 by Ananda Keśwarā Simha, on whom Lord William Bentinck conferred the title of Mahārāja Bahadur as a

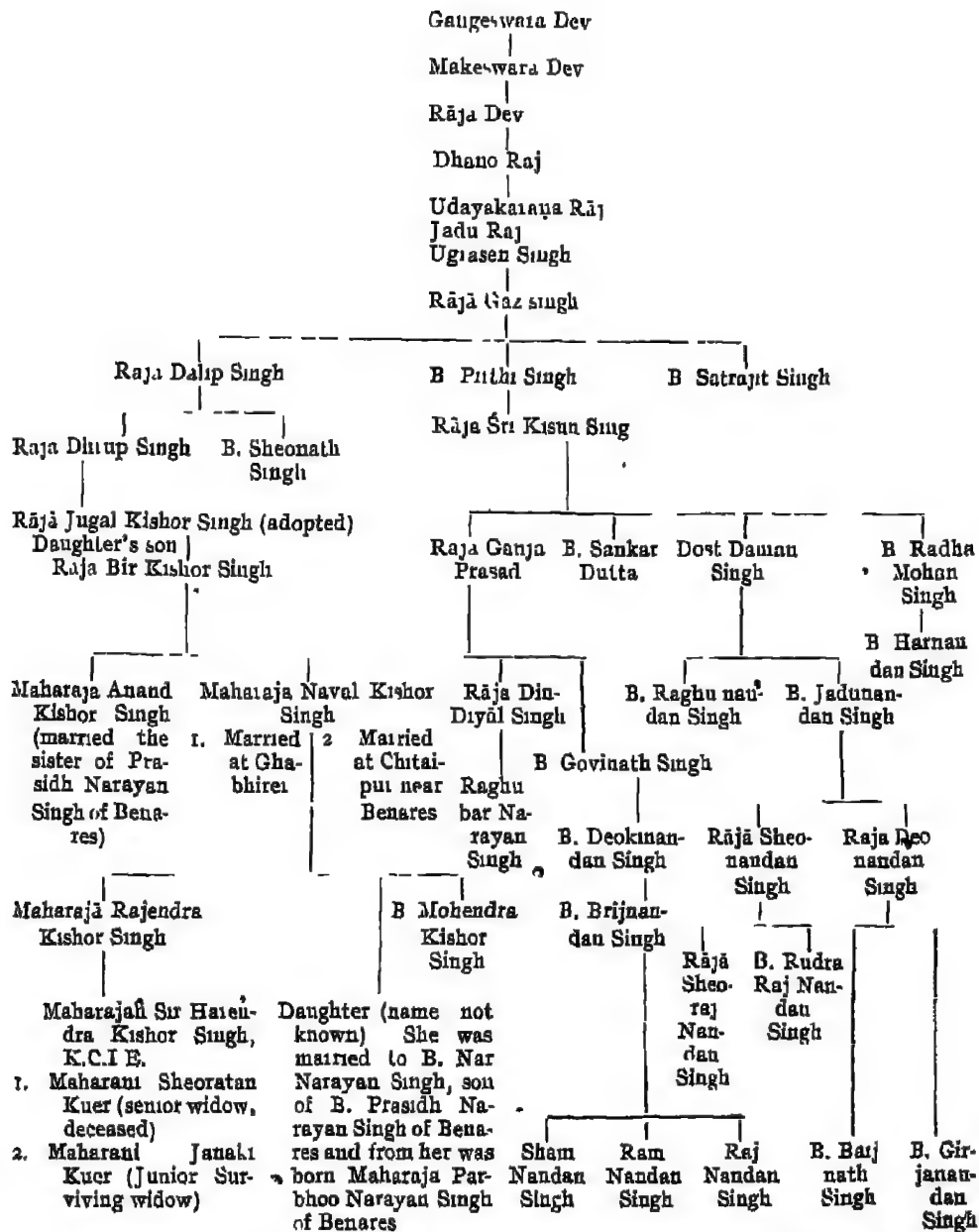
¹ Rājā of Bettiah is mentioned prominently for giving protection to some rebellious Pathan families about the year 1750 during the viceroyalty of Ali Vardi Khan (Shair-ul-Mutakharim, Raymond's Translation, Vol. II, page 58, 1902 edition).

² About the year 1760, a force commanded by Major Caillaud and Miran, the son of Mir Jafar Khan, fell upon Bettiah and subdued it (Raymond's translation, Vol. II, 1902 edition, of Shair-ul-Mutakharim and Broom's History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army).

³ The Shair-ul-Mutakharim also says that Mir Kasim sent a successful expedition against the Rājā of Bettiah in 1762.

reward for services rendered. On the death of his successor, Newāl Keśwara Simha, in 1855, the estate passed to Rajendra Keśwara Simha, who in the words of the Lieutenant-Governor, gave at the time of the Mutiny "praiseworthy aid and support to Government during the whole progress of the rebellion." The title of Mahārāja Bahādur was also given to this Rājā and to his son, Harendra Keśwara Simha, the last Mahārāja of Bettiah, who was subsequently made a K.C.I.E. and died in 1893. He left no children and was succeeded by his Senior widow, who died in 1896. The estate which has been under the management of the Court of Wards, since 1897, is at present held by the Maharaja's junior widow.¹

¹ Genealogical tree of the Bettiah family.



It will be interesting to note the terminal similarity between the names of some of the earlier members of the Kameswara family and of those of the Bettiah family. Many of these names end in 'Isvara'. Also it is remarkable that both these families are said to have come to Mithila from Naimisharanya in the U.P. Vidyapati has stated the Kameswara family's connection with Naimisharanya in 'Bhuparikramana' and the Bettiah family still maintains the tradition. Both families are said to have started with their capital at Sugaon and it appears that the Bettiah family had at one time some connection with Simaraon as Raja Mahinatha Thakkura of Darbhanga is said to have fought with Raja Gaj Simha of Simaraon. Another common feature is that both the families adopted the surname of simha at an early period.

Bettiah has always been the headquarters of the Rājās or Mahārājās of Bettiah.¹

¹ Father Tieffenthaler, the great Jesuit Missionary and author of *Descriptio Indiae*, one of the first Gazetteers of India, which was published in 1786, described it as "a populous city defended by a great castle surrounded by walls and fortified by towers; near it are the temple and convent, where dwell the missionaries of the Franciscan order." The castle referred to by Tieffenthaler appears to have been erected by Dhurup Singh, Rājā of Bettiah, and remains of the fortifications are still traceable. The name Bettiah (properly Betia) is said to be derived from the fact that the place was once famous for its cane (*bani*) jungle. Even now cane of a superior quality is found on the banks of the Chandrawat and other streams.

APPENDIX F.

DARBHANGA RĀJA.

The name Darbhanga is said to be derived from "dar-i-bangal" or the door of Bengal, but this is probably etymologically impossible and is certainly meaningless, for the division between Bengal and Bihar has always lain much further east.¹

Another derivation of the word Darbhanga which has been offered is that it is made up of the words "dāru" (wood) and "bhanga" (breaker) meaning a city on the spot after cutting the jungles or it may mean the shrine of a goddess built after cutting jungles.

The "Ain-I-Akbari"² (Cir. 1590 A.D.) mentions Darbhanga as the name of a Mahal in Sircar Tirhut in King Akbar's time.

From published records³ and from popular traditions prevalent in the country it appears that the family of the

¹ Cf. Mr. Kerr's Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Darbhanga District during the year 1896 to 1903.

² It appears that up to about 1530 A.D. Darbhanga District formed part of the great Hindu Kingdom of Mithilā, but soon after that date, it came, like other districts of Bihar, under the sway of the Muhammadan rulers and formed portion of Sirkar Tirhut which belonged to the Northern division of the then Suba or Province of Bihar.

The absence of any reference to the district in the early vedic literature and other records of the country, such as Buddhistic scriptures and the history of the Pal and Sena dynasties, renders it highly impossible to gather even scanty information with regard to it. The Bālamki's Ramāyana, however, contains a few references from which we are able to identify some villages in Benipatti thana in the district. Chief among these villages or localities is Chiuta where it is believed, Ahilya, the wife of Gautama Rāi, lived and where she was turned into stone by her husband's zealous curses, and restored to life by Rāma, the hero of the Ramāyana and Lord of Ayodhyā. Thus whatever information concerning the district one can glean from such sacred books, it can unhesitatingly be admitted that it had been a vast jungle and an extensive uncultivated tract for a long period before the 12th or 13th century.

³ Cf. p. 156, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II translated by Jarrett, Bibliotheca Indica, edition. Calcutta, 1910.

⁴ A brief account of the origin and history of the Darbhanga Rāj will be found in the 2nd Part of the "Ghose's Indian Chiefs, Rājās, Zamindars, etc." Mr. Kerr in his Settlement Report in the Darbhanga District (1896-1903), pages 1, 2 and 19 and Mr. Stevenson-Moore in his Settlement Report of the Muzaffarpur District (1892-1899), pages 44-49 have also dwelt at some length on the subject. Cf. also the Purneah Settlement Report (1901-1908) by Byrne, Calcutta edition, 1908, Appendix VI, pp. xlv-lil, which contains all relevant extracts from the Court of Wards papers relating to the Darbhanga Rāj.

Mahāīājās of Darbhanga is descended from one Maheśa Thakkura, a Brāhmaṇa who is said to have come from Mandala in the District of Jabbalpur in the Central Provinces about the beginning of the 16th century. Maheśa Thakkura was a man of great learning and erudition, and his vast knowledge of Sanskrit, Science, and Art made the great Mughal Emperor Akbar confer upon him the grant of what is now the well-known Darbhanga Rāj.¹

After receiving the grant of Mithilā from Emperor Akbar he settled down with his family at Bhaura in the Darbhanga District where he and his sons continued to teach Sanskrit.

An account of the literary eminence of Maheśa Thakkura who, it is traditionally stated, was a student of Pakṣadhara Miśra and brother of Bhagiratha Thakkura, alias Megha Thakkura, has been given in its proper place. He was a Priest Minister of the Rājā of Bastar and his ancestor Gosain Saṅkarṣaṇa Upādhyāya had received the grant of Khāṇḍava in the Central Provinces near Jabbalpur and from that date his descendants were called Thakkuras on account of their possession of landed property like so many other petty chiefs of Rājaputānā and Kathiawar. His family is, therefore, popularly known as the Khandawala or Khandwālakula family.

Maheśa Thakkura's capital was at Bhaura.²

Another version is that, one of his students Raghunandana by name, was very intelligent. According to a popular tradition preserved in the family, he was deputed by Maheśa Thakkura to explain some mythical stories to the Mahārāni of Bastar, but some how or other he incurred the Mahārāni's displeasure and was turned out of Bastar Estate. Just then Paṇḍita Maheśa Thakkura received a circular letter addressed to all famous Paṇḍits in

Cf. also Hunter's Statistical Account, 1877, Bengal, Tirhut and Champaran, pp. 208-214.

Also cf. Mithila Darpana by Ras Bihari Lal, Darbhanga, edition, 1915.

Also cf. Tarikhul-Fitral known as Ain-i-Tirhut by Babu Bihari Lal, Vakil, Darbhanga, edition 1883.

¹ The traditional saying is that he got all the lands within the following boundaries, i.e. "Az-gang-la-Sang: Az los ta ghose" i.e. from the Ganges to the mountains (i.e. Nepal) and from Kosi (river Kosi) to the whole of Tirhut as popularly known. This couplet is also found in the Purneah Settlement Report (1901-08), Calcutta, edition 1908 by Byrne, App. VI, p. xlv.

² Bhaura is mentioned as mahal under Sircar Tirhut in Suba Bihar during the reign of King Akbar (cf. Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, page 156, Calcutta, 1910 edition).

the country by King Akbar requesting them to take part in his theological disputation at Delhi. Raghunandana proceeded to represent his teacher Maheśa Thakkura at the Delhi Court and by his vast learning and intellectual power beat down, among others, a very famous and learned Mullah of the Emperor's Court. Thereupon the celebrated King Akbar bestowed on the great Hindu scholar (Raghudanada Jhā), as a mark of the Imperial recognition of his high merits, the huge zamindari of Sircar Tirhut. Raghunandana then returned to Tirhut and very disinterestedly made over the Farmān to his Guru, Maheśa Thakkura, in gratitude for the instructions he had received from him. Maheśa Thakkura, however, declined to accept it unless it was endoised in his favour by the Emperor himself. Accordingly Maheśa Thakkura accompanied by his pupil Raghunandana went to Delhi and got the grant transferred to his name after succeeding in a religious discussion with the Ullmas (learned Maulavis) of the Emperor's Court. Rājā Māna Simha of Jayapur is traditionally said to be chiefly instrumental in effecting this transfer.¹

And another story is that Maheśa Thakkura went to Delhi where he was introduced by Rājā Māna Sing' whom he impressed very well, to Akbar who was pleased with his versatile genius and learning. Maheśa Thakkura told the Emperor that as the Kameśwara dynasty of Brāhmin rulers in Mithilā was extinct, he might be installed in authority. Akbar thereupon conferred the Mithilā Rāj on Maheśa Thakkura who returned to Mithilā and began to rule the country; but a scion of Kameśwara dynasty went to Delhi and implored the Emperor to restore the

¹ The following verse widely known in Tirhut gives the Śakā year of the grant of Farmān for Mithilā to Maheśa Thakkura.—

“नव यद् वेद वसुंधरा, शक मे अकबर शाह ।
पण्डित सुबुध महेश को, किन्ही मिथिला नाह ॥

² The following śloka in praise of Rājā Mān Singh by Mahesa Thakkura is heard from Pandits in Mithila :—

उपवीक्ष्यन्ति दर्शयन्तस्ते नृप मानसिंह तव दान यशः । सुर आलम्बिते कुसुम सृङ्गया
नमनाय भूरि यतमानतमा ॥ १ ॥

³ Cf. the following śloka sung by Mahesa Thakkura in praise of Akbar :—

“सूद्रां यकादशैका तुहिनगिरिसुता तामिसमाददानाः प्रशान्तसूच्यते ऽमौ कलह महरह
कुर्वते दुर्विनीताः । अद्वाश्रयान्तरात्मनिकविमलधशः पूरकपूर गौरैर्माजी-जङ्गलुद्दीन तमिह
दश दिशोवीर गौरी करोषि ॥ १ ॥

Mithilā Rāj to him and at last succeeded in getting the Emperor to settle with him the uncultivated lands in Mithilā on the assumption that Maheśa Thakkura had got his sway only over the cultivated lands. The Oinwar¹ came back to Mithilā and created trouble in almost every part of it for separation of the uncultivated from the cultivated lands. Maheśa Thakkura who was more a scholar than a ruler got disgusted with the whole thing and relinquished the Mithilā Rāj, and proceeded to "Bastar" to work as a priest Minister with the Rāja of Bastar. He was accompanied by a very intelligent student Raghunandana who happened to incur the displeasure of the Rāni of Bastar and who decided after consulting Maheśa Thakkura to proceed to Delhi where he would join in theological disputation in the Emperor's Court and also try to get back the undivided possession of Mithilā to Maheśa Thakkura whose devoted disciple he was. He² succeeded and returned to Bastar, accompanied by Imperial escorts, to surprise the Rani³ and to be welcomed by Maheśa Thakkura. Maheśa Thakkura eventually returned to Tirhut, took possession of the Mithilā Rāj and made amicable settlement with the descendants of the Oinwar family.

And yet another tradition states that the founder of this family was a Srotriya Brāhmaṇa, Gaṅgadhara Jhā, who lived in the 11th century A.D. in the village Gangawali in the Darbhanga District. It is said that his great-grandson, Śaṅkarṣana, acquired fame as a great Paṇḍita in Khandwa in the Central Provinces and came to be regarded as a 'Swāmi' (spiritual leader). He acquired the village Khandwa in the Central Provinces and came to be called a Thakkura like the princes of Kathiawar. It is believed that Candra Thakkura, who was seventh in descent from Śaṅkarṣana Thakkura had four learned sons

¹ i.e. descendant of Kameswar who was called Oinwar.

² It is not known what became of Raghunandan after his return to Bastar but it is believed traditionally that his family settled partly in the Central Provinces and partly in Mithilā.

³ The following sloka expressive of the Rāni's surprise and humiliation is heard from Mithilā Paṇḍitas:—

प्रातर्भासति पद्मिनी परिदृष्टे विष्णु तमः शंकया दिक् चक्र चकितं सुधैव चतुरे चक्रि
लमुद्धौचसे । श्रीमद्दत्त भूमिचन्द्र वदनामोज प्रसादोदयादायाते रघुनन्दने गज घटा घण्टारव
श्रुते ॥ १ ॥ ८

named Megha, Thegha, Dāmodara and Maheśa Thakkuras, who established a Sanskrit School at Bhaura (in the Darbhanga District) and used to teach students from all parts of the country including Bengal. They started on travel with Maheśa Thakkura's learned pupil Raghunandana and came to be honoured by the Chiefs of Khandawa, Mandala, Ratnapura and Bastara in the Central Provinces. Their name is intimately associated with Rānī Durgāvati of Maṇḍalā (or Gorha) whom one of them initiated into the sacred lore and under whose advice she (though Gaudakṣatṛī by caste) was married to one Jadorāo (a Nāga-banśikṣatṛī) who subsequently became disciple of one of the brothers. Tradition says that Rānīdurgavati incurred their displeasure by her disparaging remarks about their favourite pupil Raghunandana and consequently they left her place. Tradition is also responsible for the statement that they returned to Rānīdurgavati with a large number of elephants presented by the Rājā of Bastara and Rānīdurgavati came out of her palace to receive and honour them, especially as she felt humbled on account of her having taunted them (when they were leaving her) saying how many elephants would they bring from elsewhere. The brothers are said to have been invited to Akbar's court at Delhi, where they distinguished themselves in disputation. Akbar presented them with the sanad granting the principality of Mithilā which was their native land.

Tradition states that Maheśa Thakkura and his brothers were reluctant to accept the grant from a Non-Hindu king but Maheśa's pupil Raghunandana took up the sanad and subsequently presented it to him as *Gurudakṣiṇā* (present to a teacher or preceptor). But Megha, Thegha and Dāmodara Thakkuras are said to have repaired to Bastar, Maṇḍalā and Ratnapura in the Central Provinces where they were granted large jagirs and annuities and Maheśa Thakkura alone settled down in Tirhut and got possession of the country after some fight with the former ruler (traditionally called Darbhangi Khan).

¹ Ferishta (translated by Briggs) describes Rānī Durgavati of Garha's fight with Akbar's general in the course of which she lost her life. Cf. Ferishta's *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, translated by Briggs, Vol. II, pp. 217 and 218.

He is said to have brought the image of deity Karkali from near Jabbalpur and to have established it at Darbhanga.

Thus it is believed generally that Maheśa Thakkura got his Rāja from Akbar and it is said that an old inscription confirms this belief and assigns the event to 1556 A.D.¹

According to tradition Maheśa Thakkura died in 1569 A.D. leaving behind him four sons, the eldest Rāma Candra Thakkura having died unmarried in his father's life time. On the death of Maheśa Thakkura his second son, Gopāla Thakkura succeeded him as eldest surviving son 1569-1581. The most important event traditionally known of Gopāla Thakkura's time was his conquest of the Pem-mara Rajaputas of Bhaur which they eventually evacuated.² Another important event of Gopāla Thakkura's time was the settlement of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by Rājā Todar Mall in or about the year 1580.³ Gopāla Thakkura soon retired to Benares and was succeeded by his brother, Paramānanda Thakkura, the fourth son of Maheśa Thakkura. Shortly after Paramananda Thakkura also died without issue and was succeeded by his younger brother Subhankara Thakkura, the fifth and last son of Maheśa Thakkura. In his time the seat of the family was changed from Bhavr to Bhawarāh near Madhubani. He is

¹ It is said that there is the following inscription on a piece of stone in the Dhanuśakūpa (well) near Janakapura in the Nepal territory. Cf. introduction to Yacaspai Mīra's *Khandanoddhāta*, Benares edition (Medical Hall Press), 1905:—

²

“आसीत् पण्डितमण्डलाग्रगणिता भूमपवला खण्डला ।

जातः खण्डवलाकुले गिरिसुताभक्तौ महेशः क्षत्री ॥

शक्रो रत्नपुरं मञ्जुति मही । १४४८ सलजित द्वावने ।

बाग्देवी क्षपया शु येन मिथिला देशः समस्तोर्जितः” ॥

रहे भौर क्षत्री प्रवला, वसत भौर निज भौर ।

सूर समर विजयी बड़े, सब क्षत्री सिर भौर ॥

अच्युत मेव गोपाल मित्रि, मारौ क्षत्री राज ।

निज सुत लौ भागी तवै, राजौ नैबर राज ॥

बहुत दिवसके बाद सो, सजि आवे पन्नार ।

युद्ध करन मिथिलेश सी, सेना अपरम्पार ॥

This and others mentioned hereafter are old couplets heard in Tirhut the author of which is not known.

³ Cf. page 352 of *Am-I-Akbari* by Abul Fazl Allami translated by H. Blochmann, Vol. I Calcutta 1873 edition and also page 30 of *Riyazu-S-Salatin* M. Abdus Salam, Calcutta, 1902 edition.

traditionally known as step brother of Gopāla Thakkura. Tradition calls him very chivalrous and brave¹. He is said to have founded the town of Subhankapuri near Darbhanga.

After Subhañkara Thakkura came Puruṣottama Thakkura, his eldest son (1617-1641).

Tradition, in shape of well-known Pammar (ballad) sung in Tirhut says that Puruṣottama Thakkura was invited by the Imperial Revenue Collector who came round to collect tribute, at Killaghat in Darbhanga, and then treacherously murdered. His body was burnt according to Hindu rites, and then his widow went to Delhi and made complaint to His Majesty the Emperor Jahangir, and as result thereof, the Governor, who murdered her husband, was condemned to death. She ascended the funeral pyre with her husband's *sandals* at the bank of the Jamunā at Nigambodha ghat at Delhi and thus became *sati*. It is also traditionally stated that Puruṣottama Thakkura's step brother Nārāyaṇa Thakkura succeeded him but this statement is not borne out by literature.

Sundara Thakkura, the seventh son of Subhañkara Thakkura, succeeded Puruṣottama Thakkura (1641-1668). He is traditionally known to have been very handsome².

Sundara Thakkura was succeeded by his eldest son Mahinātha Thakkura (1668-1690). He is traditionally said to have engaged in a fight with Rājā Gaja Simha of Simraon³ and is said to have put down the inhabitants of

- ¹ कलयति कर करवाल कराल सुपैति विभूषण सरि सहिलासाः ।
कवयति भवति भवति भवभूति रभूति रसौवच सोऽपि कलायाः ॥
वितरति वसुवसुधा सुर सद्यनि लसति कलासकला कमलायाः ।
त्वयि शुभमस्तु शुभकर उक्कुर भवति विभूषणसिंह मिथिलायाः ॥

² Cf. Genealogical table attached to case Mahārāja Kumāra Basudeva Simha, Appellant, versus Mahārāja Rudra Simha Bahadur, Respondent, on page 271 of the Report of Cases determined in the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, Vol. VII, containing the reports from 1841 to 1848, Printed at Bhawanipur by Sri Natha Banarjee and Brothers Book-sellers and Publishers, 1875 edition.

- ³ . . अरविन्द विगन्धित सुन्दर लोचन सुन्दर उक्कुर सुन्दरता ।
मदनेन समि विधिना तुल्लिना कलिता मिथिलैक पुरन्दरता ।
नव खण्ड बला कुल मखन भूप सदामतिरसु सुकुन्दरता ।
नैने मगरे निखे कमला पर वारिधि मखन मन्दरता ॥

⁴ भाय मिथिला के महिनाथसिंह महाराज बाज के भपठ वे सुगाँवों पर चढ़ि गयो ॥ १ ॥
चेरा करि दौड़ि दरवाने में दरेरा लगे बखलारी मुँची लौ आगे आगसी झुहरि गयो ॥ २ ॥

Moranga north-east of Purnea. Mahināth Thakkura is said to have been a good patron of Maithili literature and is said to have encouraged Lochan Kavi who wrote Rāj Tarangini which describes the social conditions of the time and also Naisadha Kāvya, copies of which exist in the Darbhanga Raj Library.

This Simraon may have been a seat of the Rājā of Bettiah.¹

Mahinātha Thakkura was succeeded by his brother Narapati Thakkura (1690-1700). Narapati Thakkura died in 1700 and was succeeded by his eldest son. Rāghava Simha who remained in possession of the Rāj till 1739 and was the first Rājā of the line who adopted the surname of Simha instead of Thakkura. He is said to have engaged in a sanguinary battle with Rājā Dhruba Simha of Bettiah.² His wife is traditionally known to have burnt herself on her husband's funeral pyre.

About 1720 A.D. Ali Vardi Khan, the then Deputy Governor of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, conferred the title of Rājā on Rāghava Simha. Rāghava Simha is said to have acquired the mukarrari lease of Sirkar Tirhut at one lakh of rupees annually, as fresh settlement of the old grant. He also paid an annual nazrānā (salāmi) of 50,000 rupees to Rājā Dharanidhara, the Nawab's Dewan and remained in quiet possession and enjoyment of that Sirkar till, at the instigation of Ekanātha Thakkura, nephew of Rājā Rāghava Simha and great-grand-son of Subhañkara Thakkura (by his second son Nārāyaṇa Thakkura who died in his father's life time), and hearing from him of all the Rājā's (Rāghava Simha's) enormous profits,

दोड़ दोड़ पैदल कगुरन में चढ़ि लागै लेऊकी लहरिसी सोति ताल भरि गयो ॥ ३ ॥
कछ दाल कछ नरकस तलवार डारितौलौ गजसिंह खोलि खिड़की दै निकलि गयो ॥ ४ ॥

¹ For an account of Simraon dynasty Cf. Part III and for that of Bettiah Appendix E.

²

नगड खड्ग भुवसिंह तोहि अपर यम चढौ ।

मिथिलापति सोवैर अबस दिन दिन तोहि बढौ ॥

ते कपूत कुल बधिक यतो राघव नष्ट राजा ।

अरि दल दलन समथ भौस भारत जिसि गाजा ॥

कवि कहत रामरे बूढ़ दुनु जेहि दल प्रचण्ड भैरो रहत ।

उद्धरे ने फौज जायइति की जब सरदार खां तेगा गहत ॥

It is said that Sardar Khan was a servant of Rājā Raghava Simha.

Ali Vardi Khan seized his property amounting to ten or twelve lakhs and carried all his family as prisoners to Patna. The Rājā at first fled, but at last surrendered himself and was ordered back to Tirhut as a Revenue Collector and a grant of *sadui*¹ (2 per cent on the collections) was given to him on condition that he should do justice and relieve distress; that he should put the country in a flourishing state and keep it so; that he should supply the raiyats with the necessaries for cultivation, and be equally answerable to Government for the revenue collected through his dependents as for those immediately under his own superintendence.²

Tradition says that Rājā Rāghava Simha fought a battle with a Rājā called Bhūpa Simha, who was residing in Pargana Pachmahala in Nepal Tarai. Nepal had many petty chieftains in those days. Bhūpa Simha was killed in the battle.

But the most important event of Rājā Rāghava Simha's time as traditionally known and as preserved in the poems of Lāl Kavi (and heard in Tirhut) was his fight with the usurper Biru Kurmi who was previously his servant (Khansāmā). Rāghava Simha appointed him revenue collector of Mahāl Dharamapur (in the Purnea District) which was granted to Rājā Rāghava Simha.³ After

¹ An explanation of the word "*Sadui*" mentioned above seems necessary in this place. The word is derived from *sad* or *sat* (hundred) and *dui* (two) and means two per cent.

² According to some, *sadui* is the same as *dasurani* or collection charges—Cf. pages 44-45 of Stevenson Moore's Settlement Report of the Muzaffarpur District (1892-1899) Calcutta, 1891 edition.

³ Cf. page 44 of Mr Stevenson-Moore's Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Muzaffarpur District (1892-1899), 1901 edition.

३
 दीर नगर दीरसाह का वसे कौशिका तीर ।
 का पति राखे कौशिका का राखे रघुवीर ।

⁴ The present Mahārāja of Darbhanga, Sir Rameshwara Simha has got a sanad of Dharampur granted to Rājā Mādhava Simha but there is a well known tradition prevalent through out the district that the original grantee was Rājā Rāghava Simha.

I have come across some private documents or sanads granted by owners of the Darbhanga Raj to their successors beginning with Mahinath Thakkura down to Partap Singh, purporting to show that the Raj of Tirhut, Pargana Dharampur, and all the Malikana Dustui belonged to Darbhanga Raj.

But this account is in conflict with the deposition of Durajan Simha, son of Bura Simha, the Rājā of Biranagara alias Dharamapur by Nawab Zafar Khan during the time of Emperor AURANZEB (cf. page 36 of *Riyazu-s-salatin* by M. Abdus Salam, Calcutta, 1902 edition).

The account of Dharampur Parganā given in the Gazetteer of Purnea, 1911, page 186, by L. S. S. C. Malley, is interesting:—

On the death of Rājā Narendra Simha in 1770, though his widow Rāni Padmāwati retained some sort of influence till 1778, the Rāj in fact devolved upon Pratāpa Simha, the adopted son of Rājā Narendra Simha and eldest son of Eknātha Thākkura, cousin of Rājā Narendra Simha. Rājā Pratāpa Simha removed his family residence from Bhawarah near Madhubani to Jhañjhārpur about the year 1782.¹

Pratāpā Simha died in 1785 and was succeeded by his step-brother and heir Mādhava (alias Mādho) Simha.² He removed his residence to Darbhanga. It was during the time of Mādhava Simha that steps for a permanent settlement of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were taken by Lord Cornwallis about the year 1790. Rājā Mādhava

डका दै वख्तो चली चढ़े खेत पर जाय ॥
महाया पंच खेलाय के काळ देखायो वाड ।
चढ़ी सवारी पार कै गंग दुआर के वाड ॥
सबै फिर मैदान छाड़ि फौजदार भागि गौ ।
भयो फतेह भूप का सुकत बन्ध बाणि गौ ॥
लूटि लूटि लायो सवति लिपुर् लपेटे अंग ।
लाल सुकवि यहि भांति भौ समर भिखारी भंग ॥

¹ The circumstances under which the transfer took place is described in some old poems:—

दीहा :— नृत्यत फणिन फणारी पर खल्लन पांखि पसारि ।
सोलखि सब पूछत भये अद्भुत बात निहारि ॥ १ ॥
पूछत भय नरेश तब सुनु मोति सब लोग ।
खल्लन फणि पर शोभहिं याको कौन संयोग ॥ २ ॥
कवित :— कहत लगे हैं तब मंजि प्रबल लोग सुनिय भिषिलेश जो योतिष
में प्रमाण है ॥ १ ॥ सरस हैं भूमि याको जीति न सकत कोउ वास
करिवे के यह विधि के निसानि है ॥ २ ॥ सुनि के आनन्द उर उमगे
उछाड़ बढ़ि बोले महाराज ने सरस भरे बाणि है ॥ ३ ॥ डकुम
हमारो यह जाहिर जहान करो भौरा को छाड़ि यहां दरभंगा
राजधानी है ॥ ४ ॥

दीहा :— राजधानी दरभंगा भय सकल गुणान खानि ।
भौरा छाड़ि भूप तब समस्त सब के जानि ॥ १ ॥

² Mādhava Simha had four wives: by the first he had no issue, by the second he had two sons, Kisuna Simha who had died without issue in his father's lifetime, and Chattra Simha, by the third he had also two sons, Kirata Simha and Govinda Simha, and by the fourth only one son named Rāmapata Simha.

It appears that the Emperor Shah Alam of Delhi addressed Madhu Simha as a Rājā in a Farmān and it may be assumed that the title of Rājā or Mahārājā has become hereditary by prescription—Ghose's Indian chiefs, Rājās, Zamindars etc., Part II, 1881 edition.

Simha declined to accept the terms proposed by the collector and the Board on the ground that due allowance was not made for his "malikānā" and "dasturant." He claimed either "Malikana" or "dasturant" all over Sirkar Tirhut. Now malikana means allowance to a dispossessed proprietor, i.e. one whose estate has been settled or farmed with some body else, and dasturant means an allowance due to a dispossessed mukarraridar. Rājā Mādhava Simha claimed that the Rājship of the whole of Tirhut was conferred upon his ancestors by the Delhi Emperors along with the Sadui, i.e. 2 per cent of the revenue collected by him. Rājā Mādhava Simha apparently claimed that though he was not in actual possession of the whole of Tirhut, still there was a time when every part of Tirhut was either his absolute property or his mukarrari and so he was entitled either to malikana or dasturant. The component articles of dasturant as claimed by Rājā Mādhava Simha were three rupees upon each village yielding Rs. 100/—and upwards, one anna in every rupee of the revenue and two rupees per cent on the mufassal jamā, all of which were conditional (Bashartea Malguzari and Khair Khah Sirkar on account of revenue and loyalty to Government). The Rājā had besides the Nizamat dasturant a fixed dasturant from all lands not paying rent to Government amounting to Rs. 15,000/—or 16,000/—. The collector did not acknowledge his claim and settled the estates in fairness with others on account of the Rājā's recusancy but eventually in the year 1807 under the orders of the Government of India the settlement of the present Darbhanga Rāja was concluded with Rāja Mādhava Simha on an annual rental of Rs. 152,053/—, excluding Rs. 41,282/- on account of his malikana and dasturant.¹

Rājā Mādhava Simha died in 1807 and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son. Rājā Chattra Simha, who rendered good services to Government at the time of the Nepal war in 1814-15 A.D. He was the first to receive

¹ Page 19 of Kerr's Settlement Report of the Darbhanga District (1896-1903), Calcutta, 1904 edition.

For a comprehensive account of settlement with Madhavā Simha and his dasturant which showed his right of some sort over whole Tirhut cf. pages 446, 480-82 500 etc. of Fifth Report on East India Affairs, Vol. II by Firminger, Calcutta, 1917 edition.

a few years Biru declared himself independent and ceased to remit collections to him. Thereupon Rājā Rāghava Simha had to send a large force to Purnea to subdue him. He was subdued after the fight and the tradition has it that the Darbhanga family does not employ Kurmis as servants on account of Biru, a Kurmi having turned disloyal to his master Rāghava Simha.

Rāghava Simha died in 1739 A.D. and was succeeded by his eldest son Rājā Viṣṇu Simha (1739-1743). On the latter's death in 1743, his brother Narendra Simha (2nd son of Rājā Rāghava Simha) ascended the *gaddi*. It was during his time that Tirhut was subjected for a third time in 1750 to the revision of assessment by Ali Vardi Khan.¹ The most important event of his time was that Ali Vardi Khan's forces came heavily upon this Rājā on account of his habitual delay in payment of tribute and harassed him.²

Tradition states that he was helped in this contest with Ali Vardi Khan, Nawab of Bengal, by the Narhan

"A parganā in the west of the district with an area of about 964 square miles. It is the property of the Maharaja of Daibhangā, and is said to have been acquired by his ancestor Mahes Thakkura in the following manner. Mahes Thakkura was priest of the Rajas of Tirhut, and, when they were conquered by the Emperor of Delhi, sent his pupil Raghunandan Thakkur to—Akbar's court. He gained Akbar's favour by his skill in poems and a lucky prophecy. He foretold a storm in which a tree, under which Akbar's tent was pitched, would be destroyed. The tent was removed, and some hours afterwards the tree was rent by lightning. Akbar there upon conferred upon Raghunandan the whole of Tirhut, or at least an income of two per cent of its revenues, which at his request, was transferred to his master, Mahesa Thakkura."

It may be noted here incidentally that the Statement that Mahesa Thakkura was a priest of the Rājās of Tirhut, is not supported by any local traditions prevalent in Tirhut, all of which call him a priest of the Rājā of Bastar in the C.P.

¹ Cf. *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*, Vol: II

² Being aided by the Afghans, Ali Vardi advanced with his forces against the tracts of the Rājās of Bettiah and Bhawarah, who were refractory and turbulent. Their regions had never previously been trod by the feet of the armies of former Nazims, nor had their proud heads ever bended before to any of the former Subahdars. Indeed, they had never before paid the imperial revenues and taxes. After fighting with them incessantly, Ali Vardi Khan became victorious and triumphant. Raiding and pillaging their tracts, Ali Vardi Khan carried off a large booty amounting to several *laks* in specie and other effects, and settling with the Rajas the amounts of tribute, presents and the imperial revenue, he raised an immense sum. The soldiers also were enriched by the booty, and the strength of Ali Vardi's administration increased (Cf. page 296 of *Riyazu-s-salāting* by M. Abdus Salam, Calcutta, 1902 edition).

Bhaurah or Bhawarah is mentioned as the name of a Mahal in Sikar Tirhut in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Cir. 1590) Cf. p. 156 of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol: II, translated by Jarrett, Bibliotheca Indica edition, Calcutta, 1910.

The remains of an old fort and tank built by Rāghava Simha are still pointed out at Bhawarah—pp. 55 and 210, Hunter's statistical account of Bengal, 1877, Tirhut and Chauguparan.

family.' Tradition is also responsible for the statement that Narendra Simha also helped the Subedar of Bengal and Bihar against Mustafa Khan, an Afgan leader, who had rebelled against him.

The poet Lāl Kavi of Magrauni in the district of Darbhanga in his poem has described the battle of Kandarpighāt fought by Rājā Narendra Simha against the forces, 5000 in number, sent by Rājā Rāmanārāyaṇa, Subedār of Patna, headed by Bhikhāri Mahāthā, who was accompanied by Salabat Rai at a place called Kandarpighāt on Balam river in the district of Darbhanga. This force was sent to take *khas* possession of Tirhut from Rājā Narendra Simha but the latter was victorious, as the force with its commander was routed.²

। ऐसे महा जोर घोर जंग सुलतानी बीच भुक्त बबर जङ्ग संगर करिन्ह हैं । औलिया गव्वाय नाम दार पूछै बार बार ए दोष कौन लक्षित करि बारण परिन्ह हैं ॥ साजेव सुजान जैनुद्दीन अहमद खां आगे ही अरज करत कविचन्ह हैं । एतो दोनवार केशो साह को अजीत भाद आगे राघव सिंद के नखल करिन्ह हैं ॥ किलकिलें जोगीनी बैताल केरसाह दे दे गहत करवाह कर कालिका सकाति हैं । भभकि भभकि उठै लहर लोच लोथन की लहरि लहरि बैरि वधु जहर खोजि खाती हैं ॥ एके आवे पांव रोखौ राघव महीप सतधीर कवि बाढ़ौ रोस जाकी रंग राती हैं ॥ गाजि राम शेर खां की कैसी खोज भागीजैसे बाह को निरखिके नवोढ़ा फिर जाती है ॥

² The following are the widely sung ballads relating to this fight.

रामनारायण भूप ते कन्हो सुखाक्षिफ जाय ।
हाकिम को मिथिलेश ने दिन्हो अदल उपाय ॥
सीर करो तिरछत को ताके रचो उपाय ।
फौजदार मइथा भये संग सहाव सराय ॥
बखत सिंद कुल उदरन रोडमल दिखपूर ।
चौभान भानु भानू सुकुल एक एक त छर ॥
थाही सभ तैनाय करि फौजे पांच हजार ।
दिगगुल समुल योगिनी मइथा उतरे पार ॥
सभै पटि वान्धयो कम्हर जड़ावा, पूछे राह में दूर केते भवाड़ा ॥
खबरदार ने खबर करि छप से कहउ बुझाय ।
पांच हजार सवार लै मइथा पछे आवे ॥
किझाळ ते कूच करि कर में गहो कमान ।
महाराज डेरा दिथो हरिना के मैदाम ॥
रामपटौ ते कूच करि पड़ौ अचानक जाय ।
तव डंका भूपति सुन्यो ताजिम पछे आवे ॥
जाफर खां के दूजे हाजा राय ।

the title of Mahārājā from Lord Moir (Marquess of Hastings)¹, which has since been granted by Government as a personal distinction to each successive proprietor of the estate and has been conferred on the present Māhārājā Sir Rameśwara Simha as a hereditary title.

In the month of May 1811 while Māhārājā Chattra Simha was the proprietor of the estate, Kirata Simha, his brother (31st son of Rājā Mādhava Simha) set up a claim and instituted a suit against him in the Patna Provincial Court of Tirhut to recover from him a third part of the ancestral property. On June 22, 1814, the claim of Kirata Simha was dismissed. Then he appealed to the Sadar Dewany Adālat, but before the case was tried, Kirata entered into a compromise with his brother and withdrew the appeal on the ground of invalidity of his claim. Thus ended the first attempt of one of the members of the Rāja family to break the impartible character of this ancient Rāj.⁴

Mahārāja Chattra Simha died on the 3rd of April, 1839, leaving two sons Rudra Simha and Bāsudeva Simha. A few days before his death, the Maharaja in pursuance of the family usage executed a deed of gift by which he assigned the Rāj to his eldest son, Rudra Simha, the younger son Bāsudeva Simha receiving a few villages for his maintenance and support as Bābū. When Rudra Simha took possession of the Rāj, Bāsudeva Simha claimed a moiety of it alleging that the disposition of the property ought not to be regulated by the *kuḷāchāra* or family custom, but by the Hindu Law. He accordingly

¹ Marquess of Hastings writes. "After a durbar which I held at Calcutta, a rajah said to the public secretary. 'This man knows what to say to us. You ought always to have a great sirdar at the head of the Government,—was of the weaver caste, and he could not flatter us with any thing he said! I this day (the 13th August, 1814) bestowed Khilats on the Maharajah Mitra Jeet Singh and the Maharajah of Tirhut. The latter is of the older family, but I gave a precedence to the other on account of his personal character. I desired him to understand that my investing him with the dress of honour was not merely for his attachment to the British Government, but proceeded from my knowledge that he had made all the ryots under him comfortable and happy, a tenor of conduct which I wish to distinguish by that public applause. After the durbar, a dwarf was produced. He was seventeen years of age; about the ordinary height of a child five years old, but of lighter make. His head was small, and his countenance good. There was nothing of that want of proportion which usually characterises dwarfs.—The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings, 1907 edition. Maharaja Mitra Jeet Singh aforesaid was the Maharaja of Tikari in Magadh. Maharaja Maheshwara Simha is also said to have been addressed as Maharaja of Tirhut at the time of the conferment of his Khilat in 1891.

² Moore's Indian Appeal, Vol. VI, page 168.

brought a suit in the Court of the sessions Judge of Patna against Maharaja Rudra Simha on 22nd September, 1840, in which the estimated value of the property in suit both real and personal was stated to be Rs. 24, 46, 658-1-13-2½ (company's rupees). In 1839 Ganeśa datta Simha, son of Govinda Simha, fourth son of Rājā Madhava Simha and brother of Mahārāja Chattra Simha, had also instituted a suit against his uncle Kirata Simha and cousins, Mahārāja Rudra Simha and Bāśudeva Simha. In the former the Sessions Judge held that Rudra Simha was entitled to the Rāj and that Bāśudeva Simha was only entitled to maintenance on the ground that the succession to the family property is regulated by the family custom; that the eldest son succeeds to the Rāj, the younger sons obtaining sufficient landed property for their maintenance; and that the Rāj pays the Government revenue direct for them and they re-imburse it, the lands being assigned on condition that failing male issue, they revert to the Rāj. The latter was also decided by the same Judge and dismissed on the same grounds. There was an appeal in both suits, first to the Sadar Court and then to the Privy Council; but the decision of the Lower Court was upheld in both the Courts. Their Lordships of the Privy Council held that in conformity with the long established usage of the family the title and estate had uniformly devolved entire for many generations and hence it was impartible. This decision which has settled once for all that the estate is impartible and that inheritance to it is regulated by primogeniture, has been instrumental in preserving the estate in its integrity and in making its proprietor the greatest land owner in Bihar.¹

Maharaja Rudra Simha died in 1850 and was succeeded by his eldest son Maharaja Maheswara Simha who held the estate till 1860.

Mahārāja Maheśwara Simha died in October, 1860, leaving two infant sons, the eldest being Lakṣmeśwara Simha. Mahārāja Lakṣmīśwara Simha was born on the 25th September, 1858, and was the 17th in descent from Maheśa Thakkura, the progenitor of this ancient Rājā family. The Mahārāja himself and his extensive

¹ Cf. O' Malley's District Gazetteer of Darbhanga 1907 edition, pages 144-145.

estates were at once placed under the charge of the Court of Ward which, during nearly 19 years, directed the education of the young chief, and most satisfactorily managed his extensive estate. Mahārāja Lakṣmīswara Siṃha was first sent to the Ward's Institute at Benares and placed under the tuton of Mr. Chester Macnaghten, but he was eventually brought back to Darbhanga where he was under the tutorship of Mr. Alexander. The valuable results of the system of education followed with regard to the young Mahārāja Lakṣmīswara Siṃha, are strongly testified to by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Steuart Bayley, who, as the head of the Court of Wards in Behar had ample opportunities of forming an opinion, which, in the course of his address at the Mahārāja's installation Darbar at Bankipore in 1830, he expressed in most encouraging terms.¹

The immediate effect of the litigation referred to above, combined with mismanagement, was to involve the estate in serious difficulties; so that when Mahārāja Maheśwara Siṃha died in 1860 and the Court of Wards took charge of it for his minor son, it was 70 lakhs. in debt and the revenue was only 19 lakhs. Under the management of the court of Wards, the finances of the estate recovered, and 20 years later, when it was made over to the late Mahārāja Lakṣmīswara Siṃha it was in a flourishing condition.²

Mahārāja Lakṣmīswara Siṃha occupied the foremost place in the public life of Bengal and Bihar, and was several times elected as a Member to the Imperial Council. He served as a Member of the Royal Opium Commission and was successively made a K.C.I.E., G.C.I.E. He was a President of the British India Association of Calcutta. He was the founder-President of the Bihar Landholders' Association and is still remembered for his manifold acts

¹ The occasion of my asking you to meet me here to-day is one which has a special interest for me. I have, for many years, had the pleasure of knowing the young Maharaja of Darbhanga, and, at one time there was not a day in which his affairs did not occupy some portion of my time and of my thoughts. I have watched his education from boyhood, and his development into a man, whose abilities, manners, accomplishments and personal character eminently fit him for the high position he has to fill—and to whose future I may look forward as well calculated to reflect credit on the Court of Wards and on those gentlemen to whom his education has been entrusted." Part II of Ghose's Indian Chiefs, Rajas, Zamindars Etc, 1881 edition.

² Pages 144-45 of O'Malley's District Gazetteer of Darbhanga, 1907 edition.

of munificence. He died in the year 1898 and was succeeded by his brother the present Mahārāja Sir Rāmeśwara Siṃha.

The present Mahārāja has had a liberal education and a chequered career. He became a member of the Statutory Civil Service at an early age.

He was for some time Assistant Magistrate and Collector of Darbhanga and Saran and Joint Magistrate at Bhagalpur and a member of the Bengal Legislative Council. He was decorated with the title Raja Bahadur before he succeeded to the Darbhanga Raj. He takes keen interest in matters of public utility and was elected several times as a member of the Imperial Council by the non official members of the Bengal Council and twice as a President of the British Indian Association. He is also President of several Associations, Sabhas and Societies including the "all India Landholders' Association" and is the hereditary head of the entire Māithila Community in North Bihar. All intricate and disputed questions appertaining to the social and religious life of the Māithila Community go to him for decision and ruling which are final, and the power of excommunication from the community rests with him. This leadership in the case of the Maharajas of Darbhanga is recognised for the last 300 years. He is the life President of the Bharata Dharma Mahāmaṇḍala, the All-India Religious Association of Hindus with which the leading Hindu Ruling Chiefs are also concerned. His relation with the leaders of the Muḥammadan and other communities in India is such as to show that he enjoys the confidence and esteem of not only the Hindus by whom he is held in high respect throughout India but also of the Muhammadans and others. He worked as a member of the Police Commission in 1905 and distinguished himself by his zeal for the Hindu University by his extensive tours to collect donations from Indian Princes and others and by his own donation of rupees five lacs. He has worked for a full term of 5 years as a Member of the Bihar and Orissa Executive Council and has won the esteem of all concerned official and non-official. He has been decorated with K.C.I.E., K.B.E., by Government surely in recognition of his services. He was honoured with the hereditary title of

"Maharajadhiraj," and while conferring the title, Sir Edward Gait at his Patna Durbar in December, 1920, stated that the Maharaja was descended from ancestors possessed of absolute powers.

It may not be out of place to discuss the nature of the grant made by Emperor Akbar to Mahesa Thakkura, the founder of the Darbhanga Raj. The question has been often asked whether Mahesa Thakkura was appointed merely a revenue Collector of Tirhut on a certain commission or whether he was granted entire control over the internal administration of Tirhut, subject, of course, to the payment of the Imperial revenue to the Emperor. I have already mentioned the traditional saying "as gang ta sang, as kosh taghosh" which means that Mahesa Thakkura got the grant of the whole country comprised within the boundaries from the Ganges on the South to the mountain on the North and from the Kosi on the East to the Gandak on the West. But it is quite possible when Sircar Tirhut was given to Mahesa Thakkura, other zamindars existed with a few villages given by grant either by the Pathan Emperors of Delhi or by their representatives in the province. There is little doubt that Mahesa Thakkura had the bulk of the Sircar Tirhut. There is a tradition that villages were settled with other proprietors or "Raj Vassals" under the permanent settlement in the district of Muzaffarpur and even Champaran, that formerly belonged to the Darbhanga Rāj. Some grants of lands in these villages made by the Rājas of Darbhanga are still to be found to show that these villages belonged formerly to the Darbhanga Rāj, I have heard this from several sources and have also seen some papers which corroborate this statement.

It is a pity that in spite of my best efforts I have not been able to see any sanad granted previously to Rājā Narendra Simha's time, and it is difficult to guess at the nature of the power exercised by the Rājā of Darbhanga from Mahesa Thakkura down to Rāghava Simha. Regarding absence of records it is said that when the Rāj was taken away by the Collector of Tirhut from Rājā Mādhava Simha and he had to run away, a number of old family documents were lost and also many valuable records were lost during the Court of Wards regime as

these records along with some ancient jewellery were taken away by some dismissed old servants.

There seems little doubt that Maheśa Thakkura took the place in Tirhut formerly occupied by Kāmeśwara Thakkur family¹ and therefore the grant made by Akbar to Maheśa Thakkura must have been of the same nature as the grant of Tirhut made by Firoz Shah Toghlak in the beginning of the 14th century to Kameśwara Thakkura, especially as the grant to Maheśa Thakkura was made not long after the dissolution of the Kāmeśwara dynasty in Mithilā. It was natural that a Brāhmaṇa should succeed a Brāhmaṇa, especially as the population then consisted mainly of Maithila Brāhmanas.

The Ain-i-Akhbari which was written by Abul Fazal during the life time of Emperor Akbar and which describes the state of things in India about the year 1690 does not mention the grant to Maheśa Thakkura, and the first historical mention of the Darbhanga Rāj is to be found either in Sair-ul-mutakharim or in the Riazul-salatin² both of which belong to the 18th century. These are urged as arguments against the assumption that the owners of the Darbhanga Rāj had absolute powers for the management of Tirhut vested in them. It is often said that they were mere revenue collectors or Jagirdars to start with, and that there was no semblance of Rajaship. But it may be argued with some force that if there is no mention of the Darbhanga Raj either in Akbar-Nama or Ain-i-Akbari or Jahangir-Nama etc. there is nothing on the other hand exactly to show how Tirhut was managed after the disruption of the Kāmeśwara dynasty. We hear of Governors of Tirhut, but we are not told if these Governors governed Tirhut without any intermediary Rāja. It is also known that about the year 1661, i.e., about 54 years after Akbar's death, there was a special Fauzdar (military governor) of Darbhanga (Mirza Khan) who assisted Daud Khan, the Governor of Patna in invading Palāmanu.³ But even this does not illuminate mat-

¹ Cf. Account of the Kāmeśwara dynasty in Mithila in part, III of this work.

² The Ain-i-Akbari gives an account of all the literary men of Akbar's time. It mentions some Bengali of literary fame but there is no mention of Maheśa Thakkura.

³ Page 39 of Sarkar's History of Aurangzeb, Vol: III (M. C. Sarkar and Son's edition).

ters much, for it leaves us to wonder who really exercised magisterial functions etc. about that time. The cumulative effect of all these considerations is that Maheśa 'Thakkura' took the place of Kāmeśwara Thakkura after the dissolution of the latter's family about the year 1525. The quotation I have made previously from Riyazu-salatin would fully justify the inference that the Rājās of Maheśa Thakkura's family often proved recalcitrant in payment of revenue to the Imperial officers and they could do so with impunity. They did not even acknowledge their allegiance to the Government. This points to their knowledge of the absolute power vested in them, and shows that they were bound to the crown only so far as they had to pay the Imperial revenue and that they looked after all the internal affairs themselves. The conditions of administration laid down by Ali Vardi Khan for Rājā Rāghava Simha, already mentioned, such as doing justice, relieving distress, putting the country in a flourishing state and keeping it so mean unmistakably the ruling power and this is a strong evidence of the powers enjoyed by them. The previous pages record some of the important fights in which they took part. It would appear, however, that it was only at the time of Nawab Ali Vardi Khan and his successor that the Nawabs of Murshidabad on whom Imperial authority had devolved owing to anarchy prevailing at that time that they tried their best to strip the Raja of Tirhut of their powers and privileges.

Unfortunately the copies of the Rubakārs relating to Darbhanga Rāj at the time of the Decennial and Permanent Settlements are not available or accessible, nor are several decisions of the Provincial courts at Patna bearing on the Darbhanga Rāj to be had. But one fact is very conspicuous and it is that Mahārajā of Darbhanga is the only Maharajā in Bihar who was called the Mahārājā of a sircar (i.e. a district) i.e. of Tirhut¹ excepting

¹ Papers mentioned in Macnoughton's Select Reports, Vol. VII, page 273 would be very valuable if found. I have not been able to find them.

* Cf. Moore's Indian Appeals, Vol. VI, pages 164, 168, and 18.

³ The name Rājā of Tirhut has been applied to the Rajas of Darbhanga from the early periods. Reference may be had to page 479 of the Fifth Report on East India Affairs, Vol. II by Friminger, Calcutta, 1917 edition.

Also Cf. Macnoughton's Select Reports, Vol. VII where the word Raja of Tirhut appears; also Cf. Moore's Indian appeals, Vol. VI, p. 188. Reference may

perhaps the Rājā of Mahārajās of Bhojpur and Champaran.¹

The contention that the whole of Sarkar Tirhut was granted to Maheśa Thakkura is borne out by the fact that the parganā of Dharampur so far as in the Purnea district, but included in the ancient boundaries of Tirhut has almost, from the beginning, been in the possession of the Darbhanga Rāj, though I have not been able to trace the exact date when it came into the possession of the Rāj.²

As far back as 1785, their Lordships of the Privy Council have called the Darbhanga Rāj a Principality and quite separate from the minor grants attached to it. They have also defined the Principality 'as a sovereignty or a subordinate sovereignty which in its very nature excludes the idea of division in the sense in which that term is used.'³ They also held that the Darbhanga Rāj was an ancient Rāj with its own vassals or tenants and that, its proprietors were rulers and that the whole of Sircar Tirhut was granted to Maheśa Thakkura to whom all the Zamindars in Tirhut were responsible, but who was alone responsible to the Imperial Government.⁴ Further it appears that the Rājā of Darbhanga used to collect revenue from the then existing Zamindars who were under them and pay tribute direct to the Imperial Government on that account and further they gave lands as free-gifts to the priests relations, and others, some of which still exist as such. There is ample evidence of the above. Besides these two kinds of lands there were also some lands in their khās possession, of which they used to collect the charges direct from ryots. At the time of settlement only lands in their khās possession were settled with them and claims for the rest disallowed. All this confirms the idea that Maheśa Thakkura got his sanad as a ruling Chief from the Emperor Akbar,⁵ and the power of

also be had to p. 46, Purneah Settlement Report (1908) by Byrne. A resolution of the Governor-General in Council, 1779, has been quoted, in which reference has been made to the Zamindar of Tirhut."

¹ Cf. appendix which gives an account of the Bettiah Raj.

² Moore's Indian Appeals Vol: VI, page 178.

³ Do. Do. pages 188-192.

⁴ Do. Do. page 187.

⁵ Moore's Indian Appeals Vol: VI, page 188.

⁶ It is now recognised, however, on all hands that the Maharaja of Darbhanga

a Chief was enjoyed for a long line by his successors in the Raj.'

In fact, it will be clear from the foregoing that there was a time when the Rājās of Darbhanga were in possession of the whole of Sircar Tirhut (now divided into the districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga), either as farmers, Mokarraridars or as proprietors and that to start with, Maheś Thakur got the grant of the whole of Sircar Tirhut.¹ In any case it is admitted on all hands that, at the time of the Decennial and Permanent Settlement about the year 1790 A.D., the whole of Sircar Tirhut was in some way or other in actual possession of Rājā Madhu or Mādhava Simha of Darbhanga, though it is said that he was only a farmer in respect of the major portion of Sircar Tirhut. But it is admitted that he was the Sadar Malguzar or Zamindar,² i.e. he used to pay revenue for the whole of Sircar Tirhut to Government. It is also said that the Rājās of Tirhut, i.e. of Darbhanga, used to oblige their favourites and relatives by grants of land. But it is clear from correspondence about Rājā Madhu or Mādhava Simha of Tirhut,³ i.e. Darbhanga, that while he asserted that he was the overlord of proprietors of the whole of Sircar Tirhut, the local revenue authorities of the time

is the head of the Srotriya sect of Maitrīya Brāhmaṇas in Tirhut. Ghose's Indian Chief, Rājās, Zamindars etc. Part III mentions that (1) the title of Rājā was the hereditary title for this family (2) the whole of Tirhut was under the Raj for a certain jāmā.

¹ This may seem to be in conflict with para. 2 of Mr. Kerr's Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Darbhanga District (1896-1903) where it is stated that Maheś Thakur got the grant of what are now the Darbhanga Raj Estates. Traditions and every thing point to the fact that he got the grant of the whole of Sircar Tirhut and not only of what are now the Darbhanga Raj Estates. It may be noted that in the same paragraph it is stated that Maheś Thakur who is said to have come from Jabbalpur took se vice as a priest with the descendants of Raja Siva Simha who still exercised a nominal supremacy over Tirhut but as they collapsed before the advancing Muhammadan power, Maheś Thakur managed to get Akbar to confer upon him the grant of what are now the Darbhanga Raj Estates. The statement above, if correct, points to the fact that Maheś Thakur was set in authority over the whole area (i.e. Sircar Tirhut) formerly in possession of Siva Simha (i.e. the Kameswar dynasty). Local traditions, however, in Tirhut call Maheś Thakur a priest of the Raja of Bastar and not of the Rājās of Tirhut, i.e. Kameswar family.

² Cf. pages 39-49 of the Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the district of Muzaffarpur (1892-1899) by C. J. Stevenson Moore.

³ Those who were held responsible to Government for the revenue of several villages or parganas were called Zimmadars or Zamindars or Malguzars.

Cf. "Sahih-i-Akbar" by Sarupchand, pp. 314-15, by Elliot Vol. VIII, London edition, 1877.

⁴ It is remarkable that in the revenue proceedings regarding the Decennial and Permanent Settlements, Madhu Simha has been referred to as a Raja of Tirhut.

appear to have lent themselves to the other extreme and denied that he was proprietor of any land at all in the whole of Sircar Tirhut. Raja Madhu Simha accepted settlement after his infructuous efforts extending over twenty years for recognition as proprietor of the whole of Sircar Tirhut and this very fact shows inherent belief or conviction regarding his rights over Sircar Tirhut though the whole of Sircar was not settled with Rājā Madhu or Mādhava Simha at the time of the Permanent Settlement, yet allowance for Malikanā or Dasturant made in his favour under the orders of the Government of India would go to show that the Government recognised that Madhu Simha had some plausible claim over the whole of the Sircar Tirhut. It is difficult now to ascertain without a close examination of all the proceedings of the then Collectors Messrs. Grand and Bathurst who conducted the negotiations for the Decennial Settlement, how it came to be held that he was only a farmer in respect of a major portion of Sircar Tirhut.

It will follow from the above that so far as Sircar Tirhut is concerned, the possessions of the Darbhanga Rāj have decreased,¹ and not increased, in this Sircar.

It is often asked why Akbar made grant of Sircar Tirhut to Maheś Thakkur. But the reason is not difficult to understand. Akbar was a great lover of learning. There is nothing improbable in the tradition that Akbar presented Maheś Thakkur with Sircar Tirhut in token of his admiration for Maheś Thakkur's vast learning displayed at his Court. It is also known that one Maheś Thakkur wrote a Sanskrit history of a part of Akbar's reign.² It is probable that this writer of Sanskrit history of Akbar was the recipient of Sircar Tirhut at Akbar's hand. It should also be remembered that Maheś Thakkur came

¹ Cf. Appendix VI, Chap. XVI, p. L. of the Survey Settlement Report, Purneah, 1908, where it is stated about Pargana Haveli in the Purneah district:—"The huge property, covering an area of 2,000 sq. miles, was settled with Rānī Indrabati, daughter of Rājā Mādhō Singh of Darbhanga and wife of Rājā Indranārāyana. It was given as her dowry on her marriage to Rājā Indranārāyana who died childless." The above shows that the former extent of the Darbhanga Rāj was very vast.

² Cf. V. N. Smith's "Akbar the Great Moghul," Oxford edit. 1917, page 486. It is said that the Sanskrit history, preserved in the India Office, London, appears to have been written by one Maheś Thakkur about the year 1650 A.D., but it is probable that the manuscript preserved in India office is only a copy of the original written during the lifetime of Akbar.

into prominence and received grant of Sircar Tirhut soon after the dismemberment of the Kāmeśwar dynasty of Brahmīns in Tirhut about the year 1530 A.D.¹ and there is nothing improbable in the tradition that the authority vested in the learned Brāhmana Maheśa Thakkur was of the same nature as that enjoyed by his predecessors of the Kameśwar dynasty.

Akbar's reputation as a liberal minded patron coupled with the fact that the Governor of Bihār, Hajipur and Bengal in those days was Raja Man Singh of Jaipur, adds colour to the tradition that Maheś Thakkura was set in full authority in Tirhut with the help of Rājā Mana Singha.

I have also heard it asserted that the Maharaja possesses a Farman from a Mugal Emperor by which his ancestor Raja Pratap Singh was honoured with the title of "Istekbal" which is interpreted to mean "possessed of absolute powers." Without seeing the Farman and examining the context one cannot say how far this interpretation can stand.

It may also be mentioned that there are two unpublished books to be found in the Darbhanga district viz. one by Gopal Jha and the other by one Sona Kavi. In both these books (date uncertain) several accounts (some of these of a miraculous kind) have been given of Mahesha Thakur and his family and it has been asserted that he got independent powers from Emperor Akbar. But though the dates of these works are not beyond doubt they serve at least as traditions of the origin of the Dārbhanga Raj.

The Bihar and Orissa Research Society has discovered a judgment of a Mithila Hindu Court in Sanskrita dated Saka 1716 (A.D. 1794) i.e. it was written during the time of Raja Madhav Simha of Darbhanga. This judgment decides possession of two rival Brahman families in Mithila or Tirhut over a slave girl and is of unique importance as it contains all the elements of a judgment

¹ Cf. An account of the Kāmeśwar dynasty.

² Cf. V. N. Smith's "Akbar the Great Moghul" Oxford edition, 1917, page 241.

³ Cf. Mr. K. R. Jayaswal's note in Bihar and Orissa Research Society Journal, Vol: VI., Part II, June 1930, also 24 C. W. N. CXLIX.

required by the Hindu Sastras¹ It has recently been inferred from the judgment that Raja Madhav Singh and his predecessors were possessed of absolute powers in in Tihut This inference in itself may not be very convincing but considered in light of all other facts relating to the Daibhanga Raj, it lends firm support to the belief regarding the absolute power once vested in this family.²

¹ Cf. Professor Jolly's note, 25 C. W. N. Page CXI, II

² For a detailed account of the stories prevalent regarding this family, see "Khandabala Kulavinoda," Darbhanga Raj Press, 1329 Fash. It purports to publish a manuscript by one Gopal Jhaw said to have been a contemporary of Rājā Narendra Simha

APPENDIX F.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EUROPEAN FACTORIES FOR INDIGO AND SUGAR MANUFACTURE IN THE TIRHUT DIVISION.

Indigo was a product of North Bihar long before the advent of the British,¹ but its cultivation on European

¹ There is abundant evidence in support of the belief that when Europeans first began to purchase and export the dye from India it was procured from the Western presidency and shipped for the most part from Surat. It was carried by the Portuguese to Lisbon and sold by them to the dyers of Holland. It was the desire to secure a more certain supply of dye-stuff that led to the formation, in 1631, of the Dutch East India Company, and shortly after to the overthrow of the Portuguese supremacy in the East. The success of the Dutch merchants aroused the jealousy of Europe. The woad growers and merchants of Germany, France and England were threatened with ruin, and to protect them nearly every country passed edicts rendering the importation or use of indigo a criminal offence punishable by death.

In 1608 England learnt the art of indigo dyeing, and in the reign of Queen Elizabeth its use was permitted along with woad. Curiously enough this mixing of woad with indigo survives to the present day, and to meet this demand a small amount of the woad is grown here and there over Europe, and even in England. The opposition to indigo was, however, so strong that it was again, on the pretext of being poisonous, prohibited, and in 1660, Charles II, had to procure dyers from Belgium to once more teach the English the art of using the dye. The effect of the persistent export of the dye from India, conducted by the East India Company, had the effect of stimulating the Spanish, French, Portuguese and English colonists to make strenuous efforts to produce the dye in many countries outside India. And so successful were they that for a time they ruined the ancient Indian traffic. But McPherson (Hist. Europ. Comm. Ind. 1812, 207) speaks of the East India Company having voluntarily given up the importation of indigo into England "in order to avoid a competition with the British Colonists in the West Indies and the southern provinces of North America. About the year 1747 most of the planters in the West Indies, particularly in Jamaica, gave up the cultivation of indigo in consequence of the high duty imposed upon it;" "The planters of Carolina and Georgia were never able to bring their indigo to a quality equal to that of Guatimala or St. Domingo." But political difficulties occurred with America and France, and at the same time sugar and coffee had proved even more profitable in the West Indies than indigo. The impetus was thus given for a re-establishment of the Indian traffic and, as one of the many surprises of the industry, the province of Bengal was selected for this revival. It had no sooner been organized, however, than troubles next arose in Bengal itself through misunderstandings between the planters, their cultivators, and the Government, which may be said to have culminated in Lord Macaulay's famous Memorandum of 1837. This led to another migration of the industry from Lower and Eastern Bengal to Tirhut and the United Provinces. Here the troubles of the industry did not end, for, just as indigo had ruined "the Waid Herrn," so the researches of the chemical laboratories of Germany threatened the very existence of any natural vegetable dye. They first killed the madder dye of Europe, then the safflower, the lac and the dyes of India, and are now advancing rapidly with synthetic indigo, intent on the complete annihilation of the natural dye. Opinions differ on many aspects of the present vicissitude; meantime the exports from India have seriously declined, and salvation admittedly lies in the path of cheaper production both in cultivation and manufacture. These issues are being vigorously faced and some progress has been accomplished, but the future of the industry can scarcely

methods appears to have been started by Mr. F. Grand, the Collector, in 1782.¹ It is at least from that time that it begins to develop into an industry, and since then has very much increased in extent and importance.

In a report dated 4th February, 1788, the Collector gave a list of 12 Europeans, not in the Honorable Company's service, residing within the limits of the Collectorship of Tirhut, 10 of whom were said to have been in possession of indigo works.² The names of 6 of them were James Gentil, G. W. S. Schuman, James Gellan, manager of Peter de Rozario, a native Portuguese, John Miller, and Francis Rose. The last named forcibly set himself down in the midst of Raja Raj Ballab's jagir in Tirhut and started indigo. In 1793, the Collector submitted a list of the indigo factories then in the district. Their number had increased to nine, and the records show that Mr. Neave, Judge of Tirhut, had to pay special attention to keeping them in order.³ They were as follows:—

help being described as of great uncertainty. The issue is not the advantage of new regulations of land tenure, but one exclusively of natural versus synthetic indigo—Pages 668-69 of "The Commercial Products of India," by Sir George Watt, 1908 edition.

Only three years after his appointment as Collector of Tirhut, Mr. Grand wrote in 1785:—

"I introduced the manufacturing of indigo after the European manner, encouraged the establishment of indigo works and plantations, and erected three at my own expense"—(Cf. page 96 of the Muzaffarpur Gazetteer, Calcutta edition, 1907, by L. S. S. O. Malley.

For an account of indigo during the East India Company regime cf. pages 208-212 of Vol. I and pages 398-404 of Vol. II of the Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company—by W. H. Curey, Calcutta, 1906 edition.

It appears that the first English Factory founded in this part of the country between 1650-1700 A.D. was at Singia or Lalganj near Hajipur. It was a Saltpetre Factory. The Factory was established there though Singia was unhealthy, because it was close to Saltpetre and removed from the interference of the Nawab and his deputies at Patna, and still not far from Patna. The chief of the Bihar establishment lived at Singia—Cf. pp. 53-4, Vol. I of the "Early Annals of the English in Bihar," by Wilson, 1895.

Also pp. 92, 122, 183, 290, 308, 320 and 368 of do. do. Vol. III, 1917.

¹ Paras. 867 to 875 of Mr. Stevenson-Moore's Settlement Report of the Muzaffarpur District (1892-1899).

² On the 24th December, 1792, the Collector received stringent orders to allow no European to hold lands, until he had first obtained the leave of the Governor General in Council; and in subsequent records we accordingly find numerous applications for this permission. No doubt, this rule was part of the Company's monopolizing policy; but it may be partly due to the new-comers having established their factories within the lands of the old ones, as in 1801 some planters petitioned Government to lay down rules which should prevent one factory from encroaching within another's *deshat*, as constant quarrels and litigations were taking place on account of this practice (page 99 of "A Statistical Account of Bengal" by W. W. Hunter, Vol. XIII, Trubner & Co., London, 1877 edition).

³ All British subjects had to reside within 10 miles of some British settlement.

No. of Works.	Name.	Name of the Proprietors
I	Daudpur)	William Orby Hunter
I	Saraya)	
I	Dholi)	
I	Athar)	James Gentil
I	Shahpur)	Richardson Purves.
I	Kanti)	Alexander Namell.
I	Motipur)	
I	Deoria)	Finch.
I	Banara)	Lewis Kick etc.. G M L S. Schuman.
9 works.		

In those times non-official Europeans were still under surveillance, and in the year 1799, a statement was furnished of the quantity of land held by them, for what purpose, from what period, and on what authority. It appears that the area under indigo in 1794 was only 767 bighas 14 kathas, or 670 acres, for the whole of Tirhut. Now there is no less than 33,988 acres indigo, or 5.26 per cent of the cultivated area in the district of Muzaffarpur alone. In 1804, the Collector submitted another statement of the lands held by Europeans in the district of Tirhut in the year 1803. He reported that there were 25 indigo concerns including the concerns of Daudpur, Saraya, Dholi, Athar, Shahpur, Kanti, Motipur, Deoria, Bhâwarah, Muhammaḍpur, Belsar, Piparaghat, Dalsinghsarai, Jitwarpur, Tiwara, Kamtaul, Chitwara, Pupri and Shahpurundi, but the area under indigo was only 586 bighas, or 512 acres. Many concerns must no doubt have been just

unless they held a special license from the Governor-General or the East India Company and no one could reside beyond the time specified in the license. No British subject in those days could acquire land without permission. Accordingly in 1793, Judge Neave ordered a Frenchman named Double (Donbal) or Dombal? and one Thomas Parke who had settled at Saraya and Singia respectively without such license, to quit Tirhut. He cautioned Mr. James Arnold of Dholi (who had beaten a brâhmana) against all ill-usage of the natives." The same judge had to ask Mr. James Gentil, Indigo Planter of Ottar, to appear by vakeel and not to address him personally on any subject when he was a party concerned, as his opponent might justly complain that the Judge had received extra-judicial information when he had no opportunity of doing the same (pp. V. and VI "History of Bihar Indigo Factories" by Minden Wilson, Calcutta, 1908).

starting, and from that time onward the increase of indigo cultivation grows very rapid.

In October, 1810, the Collector, with reference to a project for giving planters credit at the public treasury, wrote a letter full of interest because it emphasises the advantages of the industry to the labouring classes who were even at that time presumably numerous and impoverished enough to attract official attention. He wrote:—

“I am the more readily induced to suggest a remittance through the indigo-planters from an idea that Government may at some future day if not immediately (as indigo is sometimes purchased on account of the Company), wish to encourage Europeans in every species of commerce and to facilitate their means of circulating ready cash among the industrious and labouring poor of their vicinity, for the people that the indigo-planters employ are mostly men of this description, that is, cultivators and labourers for daily and monthly hire. I understand that not less, at a rough estimate, than from 30 to 50 thousand souls receive their principal support from indigo factories of this district.

“That the Board may be able to form some idea of the benefit that the district derives from the number of indigo speculators, they have to observe that, let the speculator win or lose, acquire a princely fortune or die a pauper, the district is equally benefitted by his industry, and his struggles for prosperity do rarely succeed. Some of the planters, but I fear the majority of them, fail: however, whether the balance of their accounts are for or against them, the labouring poor and industrious cultivators of their neighbourhood ever reaped advantage from their enterprising and persevering ardour in this which (to gentlemen not in the service or who have no particular profession or employment) seems to be a most enticing and fascinating pursuit.

“I further beg leave to mention that there are about 25 factories dispersed about the district; that each factory is supposed to employ about 3, 4 or 50,000 persons—men, women and children in—the various and progressive branches of their business, as preparing the land, ploughing, sowing, weeding, collecting the seed for the ensuing year, bringing the plants to the vats, and the different

processes in the manufacturing of the drug till embarked for the Calcutta market, where it pays a duty and is finally packed up for Europe, and I understand that one year with another, there is seldom less than 10,000 maunds of indigo sent to Calcutta from this district

"Permit me still further to mention that each factory on an average is said to disburse about from 25 to 30,000 rupees per annum in hard cash to labourers, raiyats and cultivators for some miles round their factories. This estimate shows that a sum possibly not less than 6 or 7 lakhs of rupees is annually circulated in zila Tirhut by a few enterprising European Indigo-planters and that too to people who are most in want of such constant and certain aid—cultivators, day-labourers, and their families."

But in 1828 the pendulum had swung back, and the Collector suggested some restriction of the industry as desirable. He wrote:—

"Indigo cultivation has been increased so greatly in this district that I am of opinion, for the benefit of the district, some restrictions should be put upon it. From the misunderstanding which has prevailed and still prevails amongst the European planters, disputes with one another are of very frequent occurrence: disputes have, however, of late occurred through descendants of Europeans embarking in indigo cultivation, chiefly, if not entirely, on native agency. For the peace of the district and welfare of the established planters it therefore appears highly desirable that the Government restrictions regarding the erection of factories by Europeans should be extended to the descendants of Europeans, and power be vested in the Magistrate to prevent engagements for the cultivation of indigo plant by other than the proprietor or proprietors of one established factory."

The Revenue Survey found in 1850, 86 factories in the district of Tirhut (now districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga). Several of them, which were then used for the manufacture of sugar, were subsequently converted into indigo concerns. Thus Aurai, then a sugar factory, and Debria, partly an indigo and partly a sugar factory now manufacture indigo exclusively. In fact, it was at this time that sugar was finally superseded by indigo as the European industry of the district.

It may be mentioned here that on the European indigo planters mainly fell the duty of keeping peace and order during troublous times of the Sepoy Mutiny (the time of the Sepoy Mutiny, 1856-58). It may be justly asserted that it was by the influence and the vigilance of the European planters, which preserved the effects of the mutiny being felt in Tirhut.

It may be stated that the concerns of Dalsinghsarai, Tewara, Jitwarpur (now in Daibhanga District which then formed part of Tirhut District) which were all founded before the close of the 18th century, were all at the time of Revenue Survey in a flourishing condition. In 1874 the largest concern in Tirhut was Pandaul which with its out-works comprised an area of 300 square miles.

The cultivation of indigo on European methods, which was started in Muzaffarpur by Mr F. Grand, the Collector in 1782, does not appear to have been introduced into Champaran until thirty years later, when in 1813 after the close of the Nepal War, Colonel Hickley founded a factory at Bara. Soon after, the Rajpur and Turkaulia concerns were started by Messrs. Moran and Hill respectively, and later on, in 1845, Captain Taylor built Siraha. In those days, however, the main industry of the European planter was sugar and not indigo. The Collector in 1816, writing of the indigenous products of his districts, omits even the mention of indigo, but a successor, writing in 1830, speaks of the authorities being "able to avail themselves of the assistance of the indigo planters spread over a large extent of country." Sugar, however, continued to be a flourishing industry, until about 1850, and the Revenue Survey of 1847 makes frequent mention of steam sugar factories scattered through several parganas of the district. There was one at Mirpur, now an out-work of the Motihari indigo concern. A few years later, however, sugar appears to have been entirely replaced by indigo.

In Champaran, a backward district mainly split up into a few extensive zamindaries, the thikadari or farming system largely prevailed from the earliest times, and this naturally was the tenure under which the European planters first acquired their interests in land.

The advance of the industry was seriously threatened

in 1867-68, when there was a strong demonstration against the cultivation of indigo, accompanied in some instances by acts of violence.¹ The causes of dissatisfaction on the part of the ryots were several. They objected to the unusual trouble and hard labour required for the successful production of the indigo plant, and felt that the rates being paid for its cultivation did not give adequate remuneration for the labour expended. There was a widespread knowledge that enormous profits were made from indigo, and they had a natural desire to obtain a larger share of them, while the high prices of food had raised the profits obtained from the cultivation of food-grains, and therefore made indigo still more unpopular than before. Further, they resented the harassment of the factory servants, who, besides committing various acts of oppression, were alleged to be in the habit of taking a large percentage of the payments made to the ryots as their own perquisites under the general name of *dasturi*. Added to all this, there was an absence, on the part of the managers of factories, of that sympathy with the ryots which used formerly to be displayed by the old proprietor planters, who paid more attention to the well-being of their tenantry.

The opposition of the ryots showed itself in a general refusal to sow indigo, and in some cases in the forcible appropriation to other crops of the lands already prepared for the cultivation of indigo. The first instance of such proceedings occurred in a village called Jeukatia, the ryots of which, in defiance of the contract into which they had entered with the Lalsaraiya factory, sowed their lands with cold weather crops; and this example was rapidly followed by other villagers. As the interests of the planters at stake were very considerable, and it was necessary that they should receive prompt and final decisions on their complaints, Government, at their request, established a Small Cause Court at Motihari, with jurisdiction over the entire district of Champaran, for the trial of all cases of breach of contract between them and the ryots. This court was composed of two judges, the one a Covenanted Civil Servant and the other a native gentle-

¹ O'Malley's Gazetteer of the Champaran District, 1907 edition, page 108.

man; and these two officers were directed to sit together for the trial of all suits connected with the indigo question. The result of this measure was entirely satisfactory. But few suits were instituted, the mere knowledge that such a court was at hand to enforce promptly the payment of damages for breach of contracts being apparently sufficient to deter the ryots from wantonly breaking them. At the same time, the demands of the ryots were met by concessions from the planters, whose bearing was most moderate and temperate throughout this trying period. Within nine weeks of the establishment of the court, the Lieutenant-Governor was able to put an end to its special constitution, leaving the native judge only to preside over it. Before it was too late to retrieve the prospects of the indigo season, all open opposition to the cultivation had ceased.

The disputes between the ryots and planters had at one time threatened to become very serious. The local officers almost unanimously reported that the cultivation of indigo had become very unpopular, and that there was not a ryot who would not abandon the cultivation if he could; and this state of things was ascribed as much to the insufficiency of the remuneration which the ryots received, as to the exactions, oppression, and annoyance to which they were exposed at the hands of the factory servants. Government was satisfied that time had passed when planters could hope to carry on an indigo concern profitably by forcing on the ryots a cultivation and labour which were to them unprofitable; and it was clear that in the altered circumstances of the time they must be prepared either to close their factories or to give to the ryots, in some shape or other, a remuneration which should make it worth their while to grow indigo. This necessity was recognised by the general body of planters, and they yielded to the pressure, raising the rate of remuneration from Rs. 7-8-0 to Rs. 12 per bigha.

It was believed that this movement among the ryots was instigated by certain persons who had their own interest to serve; and this belief appeared to be borne out by the fact that the open opposition to the planters was mainly confined to the estates of the Maharaja of Bettiah. The management of the Bettiah estate by an

English gentleman was said to have given rise to much dissatisfaction among the influential natives of the Raja's household, whose opportunities of enriching themselves at the expense of the Raja had been restricted thereby; and the combination among the ryots was said to have been got up by them, mainly with the object of involving the manager of the estate in difficulties, so that the Raja, disgusted with the management, might allow his affairs to revert to their former neglected condition.¹

Ten years later the financial embarrassment of the same estate resulted in the indigo industry being placed on a firm footing. Hitherto the planters had been able only to secure temporary leases of land, but circumstances now arose which gave them a more permanent and secure hold on the soil. By 1876, the Bettiah Raj, owing to the extravagance of the Maharaja and the mismanagement of his employees, had become heavily involved in debt; and as a means of extricating it from its difficulties a European Manager, Mr. T. Gibbon, was appointed. One of the first steps of the new manager was to ensure financial equilibrium, and the Guilliland House consented to float a sterling loan of nearly 95 lakhs, on the sole condition of substantial European security. To satisfy this condition and cover the interest on the loan, permanent leases of villages were granted to indigo planters, and the industry was thus placed on a secure basis. Permanent rights in the land being assured, the cultivation of indigo was widely extended, until by the end of the 19th century no less than 21 factories, with 48 out-works, had been established, while the area under indigo was 95,070 acres, or 6.6 per cent of the cultivated area.

The planters have shown their regard for organization from the beginning of their existence in Tirlut. It appears that as early as 1801, the planters of Tirlut (Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga), Champaran and Saran instituted a joint committee and framed rules of business. In 1837,

¹ C. B. Buckland, *Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors*, Calcutta, 1901.

² Pages 104-111 of Mr. O'Malley's *Gazetteer of the Champaran District* (1917 edition).

It is a sufficiently striking fact that in nearly half of the district of Champaran the indigo concerns exercise the rights of landlord. Under the term landlords are included, of course, all classes of tenure-holding as well as of proprietary right. Para. 531 of Mr. Stevenson Moore's *Champaran Settlement Report*, 1892-1899.

they held a meeting and framed an useful Code of Rules. Again in 1877, they formally established their association which they designated as the Bihar Indigo Planters' Association¹ at Muzaffarpur and which came to be officially recognised by the Government.

A report submitted by the Commissioner of Patna conclusively showed that the system of cultivation then prevailing involved an amount of lawlessness and oppression, principally in the shape of extorted agreements to cultivate and of seizure of ploughs and cattle, which could not be tolerated. On receipt of this report, some of the leading planters as well as the officials of Bihar were consulted through the Commissioner. It was important to do nothing which would unduly excite the mind of the ryots, and to avoid any such agitation as might lead to breaches of contract and the general embitterment of the relations between planters and ryots; and as some of the leading planters declared themselves sensible of the necessity of reform and willing to assist in the work, and for this purpose undertook the establishment of a Planters' Association, action on the part of Government² was postponed and the matter was entrusted to their hands. This body showed a sincere desire to place the relations between planters and ryots on a more satisfactory footing, and drew up a series of rules embodying very important reforms for the guidance of the members of the Association. Since that time it has always tried to maintain friendly relations both with the cultivators and Government; and that it has helped greatly in advancing the development and prosperity of this part of the country. This is the more satisfactory when it is remembered that the cultivation of indigo is not very popular with the

¹ An account of the establishment of the Bihar Indigo Planters' Association is given in the Bengal Administrative Report of 1877-78.

² The Bengal Government in 1877 intended to appoint a representative Commission for the investigation of the grievances of the ryots but dropped the idea on the establishment of this Association. The Secretary to Government wrote to the Association:—

"In reference to the final paragraph of your letter, I am to say that as long as the association show their present willingness to meet the Lieut.-Governor's views and get rid of the obvious blots on the system, the Lieutenant-Governor has no intention of interfering in any way or of doing anything which can hamper the planters in the conduct of their business. All he desires is that the law should be strictly obeyed, and that indigo planting should be carried on like other commercial enterprises without such frequent complaints over the necessity for Executive interference which have hitherto characterized it."

ryot, as though it is raised on only a small proportion of his holding, indigo is not so remunerative as other crops which he might grow on the same land; he does not like the constant worry of being supervised by the factory servants, and there is consequently the risk of friction with the factory. On the other hand, the planters have consistently shown themselves true friends to the cultivators and labourers in periods of adversity. Their readiness to help the latter was very clearly shown in the famine of 1896-97, and the value of their services at this time of distress may be gathered from the remarks of the Commissioner of Patna who wrote—"The planting community, as in 1873-74, proved to be of inestimable value in the crisis. In the former year many of these were stimulated by the prospects of pecuniary advantage; in 1896-97 no such stimulus was offered; but at an early stage of the operations their services were offered gratuitously—an offer which they more than redeemed. A Number of them sacrificed time, ease and health to assist Government, and many of them have been losers by their public spirited efforts. Yet the work has been cheerfully done, and the community have once more proved themselves invaluable to the administration.

In 1896, Germany introduced its cheap synthetic (indigo) dye into the world market and the natural indigo industry of Tirhut received a set back so that its price was reduced from Rs. 250 to Rs. 150 a maund. The result eventually was that the indigo planters were hard hit and the land growing indigo had to be put under "Tobacco and Sugar." The Indigo Planters' Association was reconstituted in 1905, and was christened as the "Bihar Planters' Association" with branches in the four districts and with special Sub-Committees for advising on the industrial expansion,—manufacture and cultivation of sugar, tobacco, indigo, etc. Government have from time to time appointed experts to advise them on the best methods of manufacture and cultivation of indigo, sugar-cane, etc., and fortunately for this industry, the German synthetic indigo was shut out by the war towards the close of 1914. This stimulated interest in indigo cultivation in Tirhut once more on an extreme scale. But even now indigo can have only an uncertain future as it is most likely that the manufac-

ture of synthetic indigo will attract attention in England and the best hope for this industry in Tirhut lies in the preparation of the natural indigo into paste in which form the synthetic dye advantageously appears, and it is a good augury that experts are not late in taking this question up

In the year 1917-18 Local Government passed a special Agrarian Act affecting the indigo and other industries in Champaran. By this the *thinkathia* right by which the planters used to claim 2 to 3 kathas for each higha under the plough, for cultivation of special crops such as indigo, sugar, etc., by them, has been extinguished and European industries in Tirhut put on a commercial basis. This act, it may be mentioned, is the result of an Agrarian Committee appointed by Government in the 2nd half of 1917 to examine the relations between the planters and their ryots to which Mr. M. K. Gandhi attracted their attention.

It may be stated in winding up, that in spite of their differences with ryots from time to time, the planters have nevertheless been a most useful and public spirited body. They have given education to the ryots in various directions. There are so many of the primary schools, dispensaries, roads, wells and tanks in Muffasil Tirhut, which owe their origin to the influence of the planters. There was a time when they used to settle all the disputes and troubles of the ryots in a homely way without reference to the expensive law courts. The extension of sugar industry under their scientific eyes has considerably improved the economic condition of a section of the Tirhut tenantry. The installation of up to-date plant by the European planters has given stimulus to Indians in some cases to take up industries on a large scale. As Thikadars the planters have been most regular payers of rent to the proprietors, and have saved many a zamindari family by loans and friendly advice. And their use of up-to-date methods of agriculture has been an example for others to follow.

The name of the Tirhut Planters is associated with the Bihar Light Horse. The genesis of the institution is that a number of them who guarded Muzaffarpur during the dark days of the mutiny in 1857-58, applied to Government for their constitution into a regular corps

which was sanctioned in 1861-62 with the designation of "Subah Bihar Mounted Rifles." In 1886, Government appointed an Agent to look after their drills and their designation was changed into "Bihar Light Horse" under a special Act under which the membership consisted of all willing and active Europeans and not only of planters, quite a number of them joined Lumsden's Horse (organized by Colonel Lumsden of the Assam Valley Light Horse) for service in South Africa in 1900. During 1914-18, many of them distinguished themselves in the war with Germany and during the same period the corps was changed into the Indian Defence Force under the Act of 1917. In 1920, they were constituted by another Act into the Auxiliary Force.

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